

# The Life of Cardinal Wolsey

By  
George Cavendish  
His Gentleman Usher

*Edited with Notes and an Introduction by*

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## INTRODUCTION.

CAVENDISH'S *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* is one of the most moving biographies in any language. Cavendish entered Wolsey's service as "gentleman-usher" in 1527, or even earlier. At that date Wolsey was at the height of his power. Archbishop of York, Cardinal and Papal Legate, Lord Chancellor of England, he was guiding King Henry VIII.'s policy both at home and abroad. Wolsey's skilful diplomacy had raised England from a third-rate power to an independent place in the European state-system; his foresight and care for the Church had led him to strive to reform the Church from within; his respect for learning had caused him to found a great school at Ipswich and Cardinal College at Oxford. He was the king's right hand, and the greatest subject in England, a ruler as truly as the king himself, a statesman feared throughout Europe. During the three years between 1527 and Wolsey's death in 1530, Cavendish was with him when the cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, arose on the horizon of his fortunes, was with him while that cloud grew big till it had blackened the cardinal's sky; he was with him when the king's favour turned from him, when the Great Seal, the symbol of his Chancellor's office, was taken from him, when he was deprived of his goods, and bidden retire to Esher, where poverty replaced the sumptuousness that was his wont; he was with him throughout the torturing time at Esher, when the malice of his enemies added petty persecutions to his grief at the loss of the king's favour, he was with him on his journey towards York, with him when at Cawood he was arrested on a charge of high treason, with him on his painful journey south towards London, where he was to stand his trial, with

him when disease fell upon him, and with him when at Leicester Abbey, lonely and friendless, he died. So the picture Cavendish paints of his master must in the main be true to life, though love and loyalty brightened the high lights, blinding him to the shadows. The biography, told simply and sympathetically by one who was intimately associated with Wolsey through evil and through good report, gives us clear insight into that side of Wolsey's life that was hidden from the world. It makes us realise the loneliness of his triumph and the tragedy of his fall. Ambitious, overbearing, unscrupulous, greedy of place and power, Wolsey served the king from mixed motives, from selfishness and loyalty combined. He staked all upon the king. Yet there can be no doubt that another motive besides self-interest led to his devoted service,—and that was, love for his king and country. The headstrong Henry VIII. cared more for the gratification of his own will than for right and wrong. Wolsey did not shrink from risking Henry's anger by opposing him, as on his death-bed he told Kingston : "He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart : and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you that I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite : but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom."<sup>1</sup> But Wolsey always yielded in the end, letting ambition override justice, when continued opposition might have meant an earlier fall. His service was ungrudging and constant : he renounced for it his own comfort and ease, working early and late, passionately and untiringly. The tragedy of his life was that he put his trust in a vain thing, and lost the royal favour. That loss meant the failure of his grandiose schemes for the advancement of learning and for the reform of the Church from within.

<sup>1</sup>See p. 88.

George Cavendish, our biographer, was the elder of the two sons of Thomas Cavendish, Clerk of the Pipe in the Exchequer, and of Alice, the daughter and heiress of John Smith, of Padbrook Hall, in Suffolk. George Cavendish, born about 1500, entered Wolsey's service as gentleman-usher in 1527 or earlier. Wolsey, after his fall, regretting he had not in the days of his power done more for Cavendish, said "Now that I see this gentleman (*z e* Cavendish) how faithful, how diligent, and how painful since the beginning of my trouble he hath served me, abandoning his own country, his wife and children, his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me, and remembering that I have nothing to reward him for his honest merits, grieveth me not a little"<sup>1</sup> On Wolsey's death in 1530, the king was willing to take him into his own service as gentleman-usher,<sup>2</sup> as he had been so loyal a servant to Wolsey, but Cavendish preferred to go back to his old home in the country,<sup>3</sup> and to his wife, Margery, daughter of William Kemp, of Spainhall, in Essex, and niece of Sir Thomas More, there to live a quiet country life till, in 1561 or 1562, he died. George Cavendish held the manor of Cavendish Overhall: he had two sons, to the elder of whom, William, he in 1558 granted the manor in exchange for a yearly payment of twenty marks. This son William also had a son William, who was a mercer in London, and had so little pride in his inheritance that he sold Cavendish to strangers. We know nothing of further descendants.

Though from the direct line of our biographer no famous posterity sprang, from that of his younger brother, William Cavendish, who was knighted by Henry VIII, and built the great house at Chatsworth, with the wealth that fell to him from the dissolution of the monasteries, came the great family of the Cavendishes, who have played a conspicuous part in English history from that day to this. Sir William Cavendish's second son was created Earl of Devonshire in 1618.

Our biographer was a loyal son of the Church, he shrank

<sup>1</sup> See p. 72, ll. 12-20    <sup>2</sup> See p. 93, ll. 20-23    <sup>3</sup> See p. 94, l. 13, l. 25

from the thought of the dissolution of the monasteries ; he disliked Anne Boleyn, who had been the indirect cause of Wolsey's fall, and clung to the old ways, hating the Reformation. It would have needed courage to set forth a biography so favourable to Wolsey during the remainder of Henry VIII.'s reign or in Edward VI.'s, for its purport would have been so unpopular, that the author might have brought down on his own head some of the malignity which still tinged most men's judgment of Wolsey. And that Cavendish was somewhat timorous or worldly wise appears in his denial to the Council of any knowledge of Wolsey's dying words.<sup>1</sup> But when Queen Mary came to the throne, Cavendish plucked up heart to write his reminiscences of his early manhood in his *Life of Wolsey*. From comparing two references in the book,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that the life was written between 25th July 1554 and 17th February 1557. It at once aroused interest, and the manuscript was freely copied. More than twelve such manuscript copies still exist. The book was first printed in Charles I.'s reign, but this edition and those that followed were imperfect, being published for party purposes, with omissions and additions. It was not till the eighteenth century that a trustworthy edition from a good manuscript was produced.

Till early in the nineteenth century, it was supposed that William Cavendish, not the elder brother, George, had written the *Life of Wolsey*. But the researches of the Rev. Joseph Hunter, who in 1814 published a pamphlet to answer the query, "Who wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*?" established George's authorship beyond a doubt.

Cavendish's work has reached a far wider circle than that which has read his biography of Wolsey, for Shakespeare read one of the manuscripts, and, moved by the greatness of Wolsey's Lucifer-like fall, took it as the subject for his historical play, *Henry VIII.* Often, as in parts of the great

<sup>1</sup> See Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* by S. W. Singer. Second edition, 1827, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* pp. 102, 402.

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passage where he puts the lesson of the fall of Wolsey into Wolsey's own mouth in an imaginary speech to Cromwell, Shakespeare paraphrases Cavendish—<sup>1</sup>

"Mark but my fall, and that that ruin'd me  
 Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition  
 By that sin fell the angels, how can man, then,  
 The image of his Maker, hope to win by it?  
 Love thyself last, cherish those hearts that hate thee,  
 Corruption wins not more than honesty.  
 Still in thy right hand carry gentle peace,  
 To silence envious tongues. Be just, and fear not  
 Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,  
 Thy God's, and truth's; then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,  
 Thou fall'st a blessed martyr. Serve the king,  
 And,—Prithee, lead me in.  
 There take an inventory of all I have,  
 To the last penny 'tis the king's my robe,  
 And my integrity to heaven, is all  
 I dare now call mine own. O Cromwell, Cromwell!  
 Had I but serv'd my God with half the zeal  
 I serv'd my king, he would not in mine age  
 Have left me naked to mine enemies."

Cavendish's own judgment of Wolsey finds voice in Shakespeare's summary of his character, when he makes Griffith say to Queen Katharine—<sup>2</sup>

"He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one,  
 Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading  
 Lofty and sour to them that lov'd him not,  
 But to those men that sought him sweet as summer.  
 And though he were unsatisfied in getting,  
 (Which was a sin,) yet in bestowing, madam,  
 He was most princely ever witness for him  
 Those twins of learning, that be raised in you,  
 Ipswich and Oxford, one of which fell with him,  
 Unwilling to outlive the good that did it,  
 The other, though unfinish'd, yet so famous,  
 So excellent in art, and still so rising,  
 That Christendom shali ever speak his virtue."

<sup>1</sup> *Henry VIII.*, act iii., scene 2. Compare p. 87, ll. 20-28.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* act iv., scene 2.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

EVENTS IN WOLSEY'S LIFE	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	
	AT HOME.	ABROAD.
1475? Birth.		
1497. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.		1498 Louis XII. becomes King of France.
1500. Rector of Lumington.		
1501. Chaplain to Archbishop of Canterbury	1501. Marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, to Katharine of Aragon	
	1502. Arthur dies.	
1503. Chaplain to Sir Richard Nanfan		
1507. Do King Henry VII		
1509. Dean of Lincoln.	1509. Death of Henry VII.	
1510. Almoner to King Henry VIII.		Henry VIII. marries Katharine of Aragon
1511. Rector of Torkington.		
1511. Canon of Windsor.		
1512. Privy Councillor.		
1512. Dean of Hereford.		
1513. Dean of York.	1513. James IV. of Scotland defeated at Battle of Flodden Field.	
1513. Bishop of Tournay.		Térouanne and Tournay captured by Henry VIII. after Battle of the Spurs.
1514. Bishop of Lincoln.		
Archbishop of York.	1514. Wolsey arranges marriage between Louis XII. of France and Henry VIII.'s sister Mary.	

EVENTS IN WOLSEY'S LIFE.	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	
	AT HOME.	ABROAD.
1515. Cardinal Lord Chancellor of England		1515. Death of Louis XII. Francis I. becomes King of France. Francis I. wins Battle of Marignano and takes Milan. Wolsey arranges league between Ferdinand of Spain and Henry. Death of Ferdinand of Aragon. Charles of Casnile becomes King of Spain. Treaty of Noyon between France and Spain
1517. Wolsey has Sweating Sickness.	1517. Wolsey expresses riots in London against foreign merchants. Sweating Sickness prevalent.	1517. Luther begins the Reformation.
1518. Wolsey papal legate with Camppeggio Bishop of Bath and Wells.		1518. Pope Leo X tries to organise Crusade, and sends Camppeggio as legate to England. Betrayal of Henry's daughter Mary to the Dauphin. 1519. Death of Emperor Maximilian. Charles, King of Spain, becomes Emperor Charles V

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*Continued.*

EVENTS IN WOLSEY'S LIFE.	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	
	AT HOME.	ABROAD.
1521. Abbot of St. Albans.		
	1521. Execution of Duke of Buckingham	1520. Treaty between Henry and Charles Field of the Cloth of Gold between Henry and Francis I.
	Wolsey gets loan of £20,000 for King from London.	1521. War between Francis I. and Emperor. Wolsey makes league with Emperor against France.
	1521. Pope grants Henry title of Defender of the Faith.	Emperor takes Milan from France. Pope Leo X. dies
1523. Bishop of Durham Resigns Bath and Wells.	1523. Parliament met. Wolsey begins visitation of monasteries	1521. Adrian VI. elected Pope. Treaty pledging Charles V. to marry Henry's daughter Mary
	Attempt to levy forced loans enforced with drawn.	War between England and France.
	1525. Tyndale publishes the New Testament in English.	1523. Pope Adrian VI. dies. Clement VII. elected Pope.
		1525. Francis I. defeated and captured by Charles V at Pavia.
		Treaty between England and France.
		1526. Francis I. released.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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EVENTS IN WOLSEY'S LIFE.	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.	
	AT HOME.	ABROAD.
1527. Wolsey sent to France.	1527. Henry submits to Pope case of legality of his marriage with Katharine.	1527. Sack of Rome and imprisonment of Pope by Charles V Wolsey at Anjou's Treaty of Amiens with France.
1528. Pope commissions Wolsey and Camppeggio to try divorce case.		1528. England and France declare war against Spain.
1529. Wolsey exchanges See of Durham for Winchester. Court prorogued	1529. Divorce case tried. Katharine appeals to Rome	1529. Peace of Cambrai.
	Camppeggio prologues Court	
	More made Lord Chancellor	
	Seven Yeas' Parliament opened	
1530. Wolsey journeys towards York	King suppresses Ipswich School	
	Wolsey's Arrest for High Treason	
	Death at Leicester Abbey	

## NOTE.

THE text here given is taken from *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* by George Cavendish, edited by Samuel Weller Singer [2nd edit, 1 vol., 1827]. Large omissions being necessary for reasons of space, it has seemed best to leave out the long passages bearing upon foreign affairs and Wolsey's diplomatic work. It may appear unfortunate to omit that side of Wolsey's activities to which he devoted the greater part of his attention; but, both because Cavendish's evidence is on the whole more valuable in personal than in political affairs, and because his account of England's foreign relations presupposes on the reader's part a good general knowledge of the intricate history of Europe at the time, it seemed wiser to touch only slightly this side of his work, rather than to sacrifice part of the Cardinal's personal history or that of the dramatic divorce case which was the turning point of his destiny and the crisis of the history of England's relation to the Papacy. In the chronological tables an outline list is given of the main events of our foreign affairs during the time when Wolsey was in power.

# THE LIFE OF WOLSEY.

## CHAPTER I.

### WOLSEY'S RISE TO THE HEIGHT OF POWER.

**T**RUTH it is, Cardinal Wolsey, sometime Archbishop of York, was an honest poor man's son, born in Ipswich, within the county of Suffolk ; and being but a child, was very apt to learning ; by means whereof his parents, or his good friends and masters, conveyed him to the University of Oxford, where he prospered so in learning, that, as he told me in his own person, he was called the boy-bachelor, forasmuch as he was made Bachelor of Arts at fifteen years of age, to which was a rare thing, and seldom seen.

Thus prospering and increasing in learning, he was made Fellow of Magdalen College, and after appointed, for his learning, to be schoolmaster there ; at which time the Lord Marquess Dorset had three of his sons there at school with him, committing as well unto him their virtuous education, as their instruction and learning. It pleased the said Marquess against a Christmas season, to

send as well for the schoolmaster as for his children, home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honourable feast. They being then there, my lord their father perceived them to be right well employed in learning: which contented him so well, that he having a benefice in his gift, being at that time void, gave the same to the schoolmaster, in reward for his diligence, at his departing after Christmas upon his return to  
10 the University.

Then it chanced my said Lord Marquess to depart out of this present life. After whose death this schoolmaster, considering then with himself to be but a small beneficed man, and to have lost his fellowship in the College, thought not to be long unprovided of some other succour or staff, to defend him from all such harms, as he lately sustained.

And in his travail thereabout, he fell in  
20 acquaintance with one Sir John Nanphant, a very grave and ancient knight, who had a great room in Calais under King Henry the Seventh. This knight he served, and behaved him so discreetly, and justly, that he obtained the especial favour of his said master; insomuch that for his wit, gravity, and just behaviour, he committed all the charge of his office unto his chaplain. And the office was the treasurership of Calais. He was, in consideration of his great age, returned  
30 again into England, intending to live more at quiet. And through his instant labour and

especial favour his chaplain was promoted to the king's service, and made his chaplain. And when he had once cast anchor in the port of promotion, how he wrought, I shall somewhat declare.

He, having then a just occasion to be in the present sight of the king daily, by reason he said mass before his grace in his private closet, and that done he spent not the day forth in vain idleness, but gave his attendance upon those whom he thought to bear most rule in the 10 council, and to be most in favour with the king, the which at that time were Doctor Fox, Bishop of Winchester, then secretary and lord privy seal, and also Sir Thomas Lovell, knight, a very sage counsellor, and witty; being master of the king's wards, and constable of the Tower.

These ancient and grave counsellors in process of time, perceived this chaplain to have a very fine wit, and what wisdom was in his head, thought him a meet and an apt person to be 20 preferred to witty affairs.

When death (that favoureth none estate, king or kaiser) had taken that prudent prince Henry the Seventh out of this present life (on whose soul Jesu have mercy!) who for his inestimable wisdom was noted and called the second Solomon, what practices, inventions, and compasses were then used about that young prince, King Henry the Eighth, his only son, and the great provision made for the funerals of the one, and the costly 30 devices for the coronation of the other, with that

virtuous Queen Katharine, then the king's wife newly married.

After all these solemnities and costly triumphs finished, and that our natural, young, lusty and courageous prince and sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth, entering into the flower of pleasant youth, had taken upon him the regal sceptre and the imperial diadem of this fertile and plentiful realm of England (which at that time flourished in all abundance of wealth and riches, whereof he was inestimably garnished and furnished), called then the golden world, such grace of plenty reigned then within this realm. Now let us return again unto the almoner whose head was full of subtle wit and policy, and perceiving a plain path to walk in towards promotion, he found the means to be made one of the king's council, and to grow in good estimation and favour with the king, to whom the king gave a house at Bridewell, in Fleet Street, sometime Sir Richard Empson's, where he kept house for his family, and he daily attended upon the king in the court, being in his especial grace and favour, having then great suit made unto him. His sentences and witty persuasions in the council chamber were always so pithy that they assigned him for his filed tongue and ornate eloquence, to be their expositor unto the king's majesty in all their proceedings. In whom the king conceived such a loving fantasy, and in especial for that he was most earnest and readiest among all the

council to advance the king's only will and pleasure, without any respect to the case ; the king, therefore, called him more near unto him, and esteemed him so highly that his estimation and favour put all other ancient counsellors out of their accustomed favour, that they were in before, insomuch that the king committed all his will and pleasure unto his disposition and order. Who wrought so all his matters, that all his endeavour was only to satisfy the king's mind, knowing 10 right well, that it was the right course to bring him to high promotion. The king was young and lusty, disposed all to mirth and pleasure, and to follow his desire and appetite, nothing minding to travail in the busy affairs of this realm. The which the almoner perceiving very well, took upon him therefore to disburden the king of so weighty a charge and troublesome business, whose mind and pleasure he would fulfil and follow to the uttermost, wherewith the king was 20 wonderly pleased. And whereas the other ancient counsellors would, according to the office of good counsellors, persuade the king to have sometime an intercourse in to the council, the which pleased the king nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his royal will and pleasure ; so fast as the other counsellors advised the king to leave his pleasure, and to attend to the affairs of his realm, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary ; 30 which delighted him much, and caused him to

have the greater affection to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him. Who was now in high favour, but Master Almoner? Who had all the suit, but Master Almoner? And who ruled all under the king, but Master Almoner? Thus he proceeded still in favour; at last, in came presents, gifts, and rewards so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or 10 enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so upon him; but to what end she brought him, ye shall hear after.

This almoner, climbing thus hastily on fortune's wheel, that no man was of that estimation with the king as he was, for his wisdom and other witty qualities, he had a special gift of natural eloquence, with a filed tongue to pronounce the same, that he was able with the same to persuade and allure all men to his purpose. Proceeding 20 thus in fortune's blissfulness, it chanced the wars between the realms of England and France to be open, but upon what occasion I know not, in so much as the king, being resolved in his most royal person to invade his foreign enemies with a puissant army: wherefore it was thought necessary, that this royal enterprise should be speedily provided and plentifully furnished in every degree of things apt and convenient for the same; the expedition whereof, the king's highness thought 30 no man's wit so meet, for policy and painful travail, as his well-beloved almoner's was, to

whom therefore he committed his whole affiance and trust therein. And he being nothing scrupulous in any thing, that the king would command him to do, although it seemed to other very difficile, took upon him the whole charge and burden of all this business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to a good pass and purpose in a right decent order, as of all manner of victuals, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voyage and 10 puissant army.

[*And the king took Thérouanne and Tournay*] and gave the Almoner the bishoprick of the same See, for some part of recompense of his pains sustained in that journey. And when the king had established all things there agreeable to his princely pleasure, he returned again into England. Immediately, the See of Lincoln fell void by the death of Doctor Smith, the which benefice his Grace gave unto his Almoner, Bishop elect of 20 Tournay, who made all the speed he could for his consecration. It was not long after that Doctor Bambridge, Archbishop of York, died at Rome; unto which benefice the king presented his new Bishop of Lincoln; so that he had three bishopricks in one year given him. Then prepared he again of new as fast for his translation from the See of Lincoln, unto the See of York After which solemnization, and he being in possession of the Archbishoprick of York, and 30 *Primas Angliae*, thought himself sufficient to

compare with Canterbury ; and thereupon erected his cross in the court, and in every other place, as well in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as elsewhere. And forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth superiority and obedience of York, as he doth of all other bishops within this realm, forasmuch as he is *primas totius Angliae*, and therefore claimeth, as a token of an ancient obedience, of York to abate the advancing of his  
10 cross, in the presence of the cross of Canterbury ; notwithstanding York, nothing minding to desist from bearing of his cross in manner as is said before, caused his cross to be advanced and borne before him, as well in the presence of Canterbury as elsewhere. Wherefore Canterbury being moved therewith, gave York a certain check for his presumption ; by reason whereof there engendered some grudge between Canterbury and York. And York perceiving the obedience that Canterbury  
20 claimed to have of York, intended to provide some such means that he would rather be superior in dignity to Canterbury than to be either obedient or equal to him. Wherefore he obtained first to be made Priest Cardinal, and *Legatus de latere* ; unto whom the Pope sent a Cardinal's hat, with certain bulls for his authority in that behalf. Then was great and speedy provision and preparation made in Westminster Abbey for the confirmation of his high dignity ; the which  
30 was executed by all the bishops and abbots nigh or about London, in rich mitres and copes, and

other costly ornaments ; which was done in so solemn a wise as I have not seen the like unless it had been at the coronation of a mighty prince or king

Obtaining this dignity he thought himself meet to encounter with Canterbury in his high jurisdiction before expressed ; and he found the means with the king, that he was made Chancellor of England ; and Canterbury thereof dismissed who had continued in that honourable room and 10 office, since long before the death of King Henry the Seventh.

Now he being in possession of the chancellorship, endowed with the promotion of an Archbishop, and Cardinal Legate *de latere*, thought himself was able to surmount Canterbury in all ecclesiastical jurisdictions, having power to convocate Canterbury, and other bishops, within his precincts, to assemble at his convocation, in any place within this realm ; taking upon him 20 the correction of all matters in every diocese ; visited also all spiritual houses, and presented whom he listed to their benefices Then had he two great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was for his Archbishoprick, and the other for his Legacy, borne always before him whithersoever he went or rode, by two of the most tallest and comeliest priests that he could get within all this realm. And to the increase of his gains he had also the bishoprick of Durham, and the Abbey of St. 30 Albans *in commendam* ; howbeit after, when

Bishop Fox, of Winchester, died, he surrendered Durham into the king's hands, and in lieu thereof took the Bishoprick of Winchester. Then he held also, as it were *in ferme*, Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, because the incumbents thereof were strangers, born out of this realm, continuing always beyond the seas. He had also a great number daily attending upon him, both of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation  
10 and possessions, with no small number of the tallest yeomen, that he could get in all this realm.

Now will I declare unto you his order in going to Westminster Hall, daily in the term season. First, before his coming out of his privy chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his privy closet; and there then said his daily service with his chaplain: and as I heard his chaplain say, that the cardinal never went to his bed with any part of his divine service unsaid.  
20 And after mass he would return in his privy chamber again, and would issue out, apparelled all in red, in the habit of a cardinal; which was either of fine scarlet, or else of crimson satin, taffety, damask, or caffa: and upon his head a round pillion, with a noble of black velvet set to the same in the inner side; he had also a tippet of fine sables about his neck; holding in his hand a very fair orange, whereof the meat or substance within was taken out, and  
30 filled up again with the part of a sponge, wherein was vinegar, and other confections against the

pestilent airs ; the which he most commonly smelt unto, passing among the press, or else when he was pestered with many suitors. There was also borne before him first, the great seal of England, and then his cardinal's hat, by a nobleman or some worthy gentleman, right solemnly, bare-headed. And as soon as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there was attending his coming to await upon him to Westminster Hall, as well noblemen and other worthy gentlemen, as 10 noblemen and gentlemen of his own family ; thus passing forth with two great crosses of silver borne before him ; with also two great pillars of silver, and his pursuivant at arms with a great mace of silver gilt. Then his gentlemen ushers cried, and said : "On, my lords and masters, on before ; make way for my Lord's Grace!" Thus passed he down from his chamber through the hall ; and when he came to the hall door, there was attendant for him his mule, trapped all 20 together in crimson velvet, and gilt stirrups. When he was mounted, with his cross bearers, and pillar bearers, also upon great horses trapped with fine scarlet. Then marched he forward, with his train and furniture in manner as I have declared, having about him four footmen, with gilt pollaxes in their hands ; and thus he went until he came to Westminster Hall door. And there alighted, and went after this manner, up through the hall into the chancery ; howbeit he would most com- 30 monly stay awhile and commune sometime with

the judges, and sometime with other persons. And that done he would repair into the chancery, sitting there till eleven of the clock, hearing suitors, and determining of divers matters. And from thence, he would divers times go into the star chamber ; where he spared neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merits and deserts.

Thus in great honour, triumph, and glory, he  
10 reigned a long season, ruling all things within this realm, appertaining unto the king, by his wisdom, and also all other weighty matters of foreign regions, with which the king of this realm had any occasion to intermeddle. All ambassadors of foreign potentates were always dispatched by his discretion. His house was also always resorted with noblemen, gentlemen, and other persons, with feasting and banqueting all ambassadors diverse times, and other strangers right nobly.

20 Thus passed the cardinal his life and time, from day to day, and year to year, in such great wealth, joy, and triumph, and glory, having always on his side the king's especial favour ; until Fortune began to wax something wroth with his prosperous estate ; wherefore she procured Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument. To work her purpose, she brought the king in love with a gentlewoman, that, after she perceived the king's good will towards her, and how diligent he was  
30 both to please her, she wrought the cardinal much displeasure. This gentlewoman, the daughter of

Sir Thomas Boleyn, being at that time but only a bachelor knight, the king fantasied so much his daughter Anne, that almost all things began to grow out of frame and good order.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE DIVORCE CASE

TO tell you how the king's love began to take place, I will declare unto you. This gentlewoman, Mistress Anne Boleyn, being very young was sent into the realm of France, and there made one of the French queen's women, continuing there until the French queen died. And <sup>10</sup> then was she sent for home again ; and her father made such means that she was admitted to be one of Queen Katharine's maids, among whom, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excel all other ; in so much, as the king began to kindle the brand of amours.

The king waxed so far in amours with this gentlewoman that he knew not how much he might advance her. This perceiving, the great lords of the council, bearing a secret grudge <sup>20</sup> against the cardinal, who kept them low, fantasying in their heads that she should be for them an apt instrument to bring their malicious purpose to pass, with her they often consulted in this

matter. And she both having a very good wit, and also an inward desire to be revenged of the cardinal, was as agreeable to their requests as they were themselves. And yet the cardinal, espying the great zeal that the king had conceived in this gentlewoman, ordered himself to please as well the king as her, and prepared great banquets and solemn feasts to entertain them both at his own house.

10 The long hid and secret love between the king and Mistress Anne Boleyn began to break out into every man's ears. The matter was then by the king disclosed to my Lord Cardinal ; whose persuasion to the contrary, made to the king upon his knees, could not effect : the king was so amorously affectionate, that will bare place, and high discretion banished for the time. My lord, provoked by the king to declare his wise opinion, who thought it not meet for him alone to give his  
20 hasty judgment or advice in so weighty a matter, desired of the king license to ask counsel of men of famous learning. That obtained, he by his legatine authority sent out his commission unto all the bishops of this realm, and for other that were either exactly learned, or else had in any estimation for their prudent counsel in princely affairs of long experience.

Then assembled these prelates before my Lord Cardinal at his place in Westminster, with many  
30 other famous and notable clerks of both the Universities (Oxford and Cambridge), and also

divers out of colleges and cathedral churches of this realm. Then was the matter of the king's case debated, reasoned and argued. I heard the opinion of some of the most famous persons report, that the king's case was so obscure and doubtful ; that it was very hard to have any true understanding or intelligence. And therefore they departed without any judgment. Then in this assembly of bishops it was thought most expedient that the king should first send out his commissioners into all the Universities of Christendom, as well here in England as in foreign countries and regions, to have among them his Grace's case argued, and to bring with them from thence the definition of their opinions, under the seals of every several University.

It was then thought good and concluded, by the advice of them all, that the king should send unto the pope a legation with the instruments, declaring the opinions of the Universities under 20 their seals ; to the which it was thought good that all these prelates in this assembly should join with the king in this legation, making intercession and suit to the pope for advice and judgment in this great and weighty matter ; and if the pope would not directly consent that then the ambassadors should farther require of him a commission to be directed (under lead), to establish a court judicial in England, directed to my Lord Cardinal, and unto the Cardinal Campeggio (who was then 30 Bishop of Bath), to hear and determine according

to the just judgment of their conscience. The which after long and great suit, they obtained of the pope his commission.

Long was the desire, and greater was the hope on all sides, expecting the coming of the legation and commission from Rome, yet at length it came. And after the arrival of the Legate Campeggio with his solemn commission in England, he suddenly came by water in a wherry to his own 10 house without Temple Bar, called then Bath Place, which was furnished for him with all manner of stuff of my lord's provision ; where he continued and lodged during his abode here in England.

Then after some deliberation, it was by the council determined, that the king, and the queen his wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And that in the Black Friars a certain place should be appointed where as the king and the queen might most conveniently repair to the court, there to be 20 erected for the disputation of the king's case, where as these two legates sat in judgment as notable judges ; before whom the king and the queen were duly cited and summoned to appear. Which was the strangest and newest sight and device that ever was read or heard in any history or chronicle in any region ; that a king and a queen should be constrained by process compellatory to appear in any court as common persons, within their own realm or dominion, to abide the 30 judgment and decrees of their own subjects, having the royal diadem and prerogative thereof.

Ye shall understand, as I said before, that there was a court erected in the Black Friars in London, where these two cardinals sat for judges. Now will I set you out the manner and order of the court there. First, there was a court placed with tables, benches, and bars. There was also a cloth of estate under the which sat the king ; and the queen sat some distance beneath the king : under the judges' feet sat the officers of the court. The chief scribe there was Dr. Stephens (who was after 10 Bishop of Winchester). Then sat there within the said court, directly before the king and the judges, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Warham, and all the other bishops. Then at both the ends, with a bar made for them, the counsellors on both sides. The doctors for the king were Doctor Sampson, that was after Bishop of Chichester, and Doctor Bell, who after was Bishop of Worcester, with divers other. The proctors on the king's part were Doctor Peter, 20 who was after made the king's chief secretary, and Doctor Tregonell, and divers other.

Now on the other side stood the counsel for the queen, Doctor Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Doctor Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales, two notable clerks in divinity, and in especial the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man and a devout person, who after suffered death at Tower Hill ; the which was greatly lamented through all the foreign Universities of Christendom. There 30 was also another ancient doctor, called, as I

remember, Doctor Ridley, a very small person in stature, but surely a great and an excellent clerk in divinity.

The court being thus furnished and ordered, the judges commanded the crier to proclaim silence; then was the judges' commission read openly before all the audience. That done, the crier called the king, by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the court, &c." With that the king answered and said, "Here, my lords!" Then he called also the queen, by the name of "Katharine Queen of England, come into the court, &c.;" who made no answer to the same, but rose up incontinent out of her chair, and took pain to go about unto the king, kneeling down at his feet in the sight of all the court and assembly, to whom she said in effect, in broken English, as followeth:

"Sir," quoth she, "I beseech you for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right, take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominion, I have here no assured friend, and much less indifferent counsel; I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! Sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure? Have I designed against your will and pleasure; intending (as I perceive) to put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true humble

and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said or did any thing to the contrary thereof. This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them out of this world, which hath been no default in me.

“ And when ye had me at the first, I take God to be my judge, I was a true maid If there be any just cause by the law that ye can allege <sup>10</sup> against me, I am well content to depart to my great shame ; and if there be none, then here I most lowly beseech you let me remain in my former estate. The king your father was of such estimation throughout the world for his excellent wisdom, that he was called of all men the second Solomon ; and my father Ferdinand, King of Spain, who was esteemed to be one of the wittiest princes that reigned in Spain, were both wise and excellent kings in wisdom and princely behaviour. <sup>20</sup> They elected and gathered wise counsellors about them, who thought then the marriage between you and me good and lawful. Therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are now invented against me. And cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong, if ye intend any cruelty ; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, having no indifferent coun-  
sel, but such as be assigned me, with whose <sup>30</sup> wisdom and learning I am not acquainted. Ye

must consider that they cannot be indifferent counsellors for my part which be your subjects, and dare not, for your displeasure, disobey your will and intent. Therefore I most humbly require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, to spare me the extremity of this new court, until I may be advertised what way my friends in Spain will advise me to take. And if ye will not extend to me so much indifferent favour, your pleasure then be fulfilled, and to God I commit my cause!"

And with that she rose up, making a low courtesy to the king, and so departed from thence. She took her way straight out of the house, leaning (as she was wont always to do) upon the arm of her General Receiver, called Master Griffith. And the king commanded the crier to call her again, who called her by the name of "Katharine Queen of England, come 20 into the court, &c." With that quoth Master Griffith, "*Madam, ye be called again.*" "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter, for it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways." And thus she departed out of that court, nor would never appear at any other court after.

The king, calling to his Grace's memory all her lament words, said thus in effect: "For as much," quoth he, "as the queen is gone, I will, in her 30 absence, declare unto you all my lords here assembled, she hath been to me as true, as

obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could wish or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of baser estate." With that quoth my Lord Cardinal, "Sir, I most humbly beseech your highness to declare me before all this audience, whether I have been the chief inventor or first mover of this matter unto your majesty; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My Lord Cardinal," quoth the king, "I can well <sup>10</sup> excuse you herein Marry (quoth he), ye have been rather against me in attempting thereof. And to put you all out of doubt, I will declare unto you the special cause that moved me hereunto; it was a certain scrupulosity that pricked my conscience upon divers words that were spoken by the Bishop of Bayonne, the French king's ambassador, who had been here long upon the debating for the conclusion of a marriage to be concluded between the princess our daughter <sup>20</sup> Mary, and the Duke of Orleans, the French king's second son

" And he desired respite to advertise the king his master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of the marriage which was sometime between the queen here, and my brother the late Prince Arthur. These words bred a doubt within my breast, which doubt pricked, vexed, and troubled so my mind, that I was in great doubt of God's indignation; much <sup>30</sup> the rather for that he hath not sent me any issue

male; for all such issue male as I have received of the queen died incontinent after they were born; so that I doubt the punishment of God in that behalf. Thus being troubled in waves of a scrupulous conscience, and partly in despair of any issue male, it drove me at last to consider the estate of this realm, and the danger it stood in for lack of issue male to succeed me. I thought it good therefore in relief of the weighty burden  
10 of scrupulous conscience, and the quiet estate of this noble realm, to attempt the law therein, and whether I might take another wife. I moved first this matter in confession to you, my Lord of Lincoln, my ghostly father. And yourself moved me to ask farther counsel of all you my lords; wherein I moved you first my Lord of Canterbury, to put this matter in question; and so I did of all you my lords, to the which ye have all granted by writing under all your seals" "That is truth,"  
20 quoth the Bishop of Canterbury, "I doubt not but all my brethren here present will affirm the same." "No, Sir, not I," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "ye have not my consent thereto." "No! ha' the!" quoth the king, "look here upon this, is not this your hand with seal?" and showed him the instrument and seals. "No forsooth, Sire," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "it is not my hand nor seal!" To that quoth the king to my Lord of Canterbury, "Sir, how say *ye*, is it not his hand  
30 and seal?" "Yes, Sir," quoth my Lord of Canterbury. "That is not so," quoth the Bishop

of Rochester, "for indeed you were in hand with me to have both my hand and seal, but then I said to you, that I would never consent to no such act, for it were much against my conscience." "You say truth," quoth the Bishop of Canterbury, "but at the last ye were fully persuaded that I should for you subscribe your name, and put to a seal, myself, and ye would allow the same." "All which words and matter," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "under your <sup>10</sup> correction, my lord, there is no thing more untrue." "Well, well," quoth the king, "it shall make no matter; we will not stand with you in argument herein, for you are but one man." And with that the court was adjourned until the next day of this session.

Thus this court passed from session to session, and day to day, insomuch that a certain day the king sent for my lord at the breaking up one day of the court to come to him into Bridewell. And <sup>20</sup> he went unto him, and being there with him in his Grace's privy chamber from eleven until twelve of the clock and past, my lord departed from the king and took his barge at the Black Friars. And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went incontinent to his bed, where he had not lain fully the space of two hours, but that my Lord of Wiltshire came to speak with him of a message from the king. My lord caused him to be brought unto his bedside; and he <sup>30</sup> showed him the king's pleasure was, that he should

incontinent (accompanied with the other cardinal) repair unto the queen at Bridewell, advising her to surrender the whole matter unto the king's hands by her own will and consent ; which should be much better to her honour than to stand to the trial of law and to be condemned, which would seem much to her slander and defamation. To fulfil the king's pleasure, my lord said he was ready, saying farther to my Lord of Wiltshire,

10 "Ye and other my lords of the council, which be near unto the king, are not a little to blame and misadvised to put any such fantasies into his head, whereby ye are the causes of great trouble to all the realm ; and at length get you but small thanks either of God or of the world," with many other vehement words and sentences that were like to ensue of this matter, which words caused my Lord of Wiltshire to water his eyes, kneeling all this while by my lord's bedside, and in conclusion

20 departed. And then my lord rose up, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went straight to Bath Place to the other cardinal ; and so went together unto Bridewell, directly to the queen's lodging : and they, being in her chamber of presence, showed to the gentleman usher that they came to speak with the queen's grace. The gentleman usher advertised the queen thereof incontinent. With that she came out of her privy chamber with a skein of white thread about her neck, into the

30 chamber of presence. Quoth she, "Alack, my lords, I am very sorry to cause you to attend

upon me; what is your pleasure with me?" "If it please you," quoth my Lord Cardinal, "to go into your privy chamber, we will show you the cause of our coming." "My lord," quoth she, "if you have any thing to say, speak it openly before all these folks; for I fear nothing that ye can say or allege against me, but that I would all the world should both hear and see it; therefore I pray you speak your minds openly." Then began my lord to speak to her in Latin "Nay, good <sup>10</sup> my lord," quoth she, "speak to me in English I beseech you; although I understand Latin." "Forsooth then," quoth my lord, "Madam, if it please your grace, we come both to know your mind, how ye be disposed to do in this matter between the king and you, and also to declare secretly our opinions and our counsel unto you, which we have intended of very zeal and obedience that we bear to your grace." "My lords, I thank you then," quoth she, "of your good wills; <sup>20</sup> but to make answer to your request I cannot so suddenly, for I was set among my maidens at work, thinking full little of any such matter, wherein there needeth a longer deliberation, and a better head than mine, to make answer to so noble wise men as ye be; I had need of good counsel in this case, which toucheth me so near; and for any counsel or friendship that I can find in England, they are nothing to my purpose or profit. Think you, I pray you, my lords, will any <sup>30</sup> Englishmen counsel or be friendly unto me against

the king's pleasure, they being his subjects? Nay forsooth, my lords! and for my counsel in whom I do intend to put my trust be not here; they be in Spain, in my native country. Alas, my lords! I am a poor woman, lacking both wit and understanding sufficiently to answer such approved wise men as ye be both, in so weighty a matter. I pray you to extend your good and indifferent minds in your authority unto me, for I am a simple woman, 10 destitute and barren of friendship and counsel here in a foreign region: and as for your counsel I will not refuse but be glad to hear."

And with that she took my lord by the hand and led him into her privy chamber, with the other cardinal; where they were in long communication: we, in the other chamber, might sometimes hear the queen speak very loud, but what it was we could not understand. The communication ended, the cardinals departed and went 20 directly to the king, making to him relation of their talk with the queen; and after resorted home to their houses to supper.

Thus went this strange case forward from court-day to court-day, until it came to the judgment, so that every man expected the judgment to be given upon the next court-day. At which day the king came thither, and sat within a gallery against the door of the same that looked unto the judges where they sat, whom he might both see 30 and hear speak, to hear what judgment they would give in his suit; at which time all their

proceedings were first openly read in Latin. And that done, the king's learned counsel at the bar called fast for judgment. With that, quoth Cardinal Campeggio, "I will give no judgment herein until I have made relation unto the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsel and commandment in this high case I will observe. The case is too high and notable, known throughout the world, for us to give any hasty judgment, considering the highness of the persons and the 10 doubtful allegations; and also whose commissioners we be, under whose authority we sit here. I am an old man, both sick and impotent, looking daily for death. What should it then avail me to put my soul in the danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world? And forasmuch as I do understand that the truth in this case is very doubtful to be known, and also that the party defendant will make no answer thereunto, but 20 doth rather appeal from us, supposing that we be not indifferent, considering the king's high dignity and authority within this his own realm which he hath over his own subjects. Therefore to avoid all these ambiguities and obscure doubts, I intend not to damn my soul for no prince or potentate alive. I will therefore, God willing, wade no farther in this matter, unless I have the just opinion and judgment, with the assent of the pope. Wherefore I will adjourn this court for 30 this time, according to the order of the court in

Rome, from whence this court and jurisdiction is derived." With that the court was dissolved, and no more pleas holden.

With that stepped forth the Duke of Suffolk from the king, and by his commandment spake these words, with a stout and an hault countenance, "It was never merry in England," quoth he, "whilst we had cardinals among us:" which words were set forth both with such a vehement countenance, that all men marvelled what he intended. To the which words my Lord Cardinal, perceiving his vehemency, soberly made answer and said, "Sir, of all men within this realm, ye have least cause to dispraise or be offended with cardinals; for if I, simple cardinal, had not been, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders. I would ye knew it, my lord, that I and my brother here intendeth the king and his realm as much honour, wealth, and quietness, as you or any other. But, my lord, I pray you, show me what ye would do if ye were the king's commissioner in a foreign region, having a weighty matter to treat upon: and the conclusion being doubtful thereof, would ye not advertise the king's majesty or ever ye went through with the same? Yes, yes, my lord, I doubt not." And therewith the duke gave over the matter without any words to reply, and so departed and followed after the king, who was gone into Bridewell at the beginning of the duke's first words.

## CHAPTER III.

## WOLSEY'S FALL

THIS matter continued long thus, and my Lord Cardinal was in displeasure with the king, for that the matter in his suit took no better success, the fault whereof was ascribed much to my lord.

At the last they were advertised that the pope would take deliberation until his courts were opened, which should not be before Bartholomew-tide next. The king considering the time to be very long, thought it good to send a new embassy to the pope, to persuade him to show such <sup>10</sup> honourable favour unto his Grace, that the matter might be sooner ended than it was likely to be, or else at the next court in Rome, to rule the matter over, according to the king's request. To this embassy was appointed Doctor Stephens, then secretary, that after was made Bishop of Winchester.

The king commanded the queen to be removed out of the court, and sent to another place; and his highness rode in his progress, with Mistress <sup>20</sup> Anne Boleyn in his company, all the grease season.

It was so that the Cardinal Campeggio made suit to be discharged, that he might return again to Rome. It was determined that the Cardinal Campeggio should resort to the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire, and that my Lord Cardinal

should accompany him thither, where Campeggio should take his leave of the king. And so they took their journey thitherward from the Moor, and came to Grafton upon the Sunday in the morning, before whose coming there rose in the court divers opinions, that the king would not speak with my Lord Cardinal; and thereupon were laid many great wagers.

These two prelates being come to the gates of  
10 the court, where they alighted from their horses, supposing that they should have been received by the head officers of the house as they were wont to be; yet for as much as Cardinal Campeggio was but a stranger in effect, the said officers received them, and conveyed him to his lodging within the court, which was prepared for him only. And after my lord had brought him thus to his lodging, he left him there and departed, supposing to have gone directly likewise to his chamber, as he was  
20 accustomed to do. And by the way as he was going, it was told him that he had no lodging appointed for him in the court. And being there-with astonished, Sir Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole to the king, came unto him and most humbly offered him his chamber for the time, until another might somewhere be provided for him: "For, Sir, I assure you," quoth he, "here is very little room in this house, scantily sufficient for the king; therefore I beseech your Grace to  
30 accept mine for the season." Whom my lord thanked for his gentle offer, and went straight to

his chamber, where as my lord shifted his riding apparel, and being thus in his chamber, divers noble persons and gentlemen, being his loving friends, came to visit him and to welcome him to the court, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the king's displeasure towards him; which did him no small pleasure; and caused him to be the more readily provided of sufficient excuses for his defence.

Then was my lord advertised by Master Norris, 10 that he should prepare himself to give attendance in the chamber of presence against the king's coming thither, who was disposed there to talk with him, and with the other cardinal, who came into my lord's chamber, and they together went into the said chamber of presence, where the lords of the council stood in a row in order along the chamber. My lord putting off his cap to every of them most gently, and so did they no less to him: at which time the chamber was so furnished 20 with noblemen, gentlemen, and other worthy persons, that only expected the meeting, and the countenance of the king and him, and what entertainment the king made him.

Then immediately after came the king into the chamber, and standing there under the cloth of estate, my lord kneeled down before him, who took my lord by the hand, and so he did the other cardinal. Then he took my lord up by both arms and caused him to stand up, whom 30 the king, with as amiable a cheer as ever he did,

called him aside, and led him by the hand to a great window, where he talked with him, and caused him to be covered.

Then, to behold the countenance of those that had made their wagers to the contrary, it would have made you to smile ; and thus were they all deceived, as well worthy for their presumption. The king was in long and earnest communication with him, insomuch as I heard the king say :  
10 " How can that be : is not this your own hand ? " and plucked out from his bosom a letter or writing, and showed him the same ; and as I perceived that it was answered so by my lord that the king had no more to say in that matter ; but said to him : " My lord, go to your dinner, and all my lords here will keep you company ; and after dinner I will resort to you again, and then we will commune further with you in this matter ; " and so departed the king, and dined that same  
20 day with Mistress Anne Boleyn, in her chamber, who kept there an estate more like a queen than a simple maid.

And as I heard it reported by them that waited upon the king at dinner, that Mistress Anne Boleyn was much offended with the king, as far as she durst, that he so gently entertained my lord, saying, as she sat with the king at dinner, " Sir," quoth she, " is it not a marvellous thing to consider what debt and danger the cardinal  
30 hath brought you in with all your subjects ? " " How so, sweetheart ? " quoth the king. " For-

sooth." quoth she, "there is not a man within all your realm, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you unto him;" (meaning by a loan that the king had but late of his subjects) "Well, well," quoth the king, "as for that there is in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay, Sir," quoth she, "besides all that, what things hath he wrought within this realm to your great slander and dis-honour? There is never a nobleman within this <sup>10</sup> realm that if he had done but half so much as he hath done, but he were well worthy to lose his head. If my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my lord my father, or any other noble person within your realm had done much less than he, but they should have lost their heads or this" "Why, then I perceive," quoth the king, "ye are not the cardinal's friend?" "Forsooth, Sir," then quoth she, "I have no cause, nor any other that loveth your grace, no more have your grace, if ye <sup>20</sup> consider well his doings" At this time the waiters had taken up the table, and so they ended their communication.

The dinner thus ended, the king rose up and went incontinent into the chamber of presence, where as my lord, and other of the lords were attending his coming, he called my lord into the great window, and talked with him there a while very secretly. And at the last, the king took my lord by the hand and led him into his privy <sup>30</sup> chamber, sitting there in consultation with him

all alone until it was night; the which blanked his enemies very sore.

The next morning my lord rose early; at whose coming the king was ready to ride, willing my lord to resort to the council with the lords in his absence, and said he could not tarry with him, commanding him to return with Cardinal Campeggio, who had taken his leave of the king. Whereupon my lord was constrained to take his  
10 leave also of the king, with whom the king departed amiably in the sight of all men. The king's sudden departing in the morning was by the special labour of Mistress Anne, who rode with him, only to lead him about, because he should not return until the cardinals were gone, the which departed after dinner, returning again towards the Moor.

After Cardinal Campeggio was thus departed and gone, Michaelmas Term drew near, against  
20 the which my lord returned unto his house at Westminster; and when the Term began, he went to the hall in such like sort and gesture as he was wont most commonly to do, and sat in the Chancery, being Chancellor. After which day he never sat there more. The next day he tarried at home, expecting the coming of the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, who came not that day; but the next day they came thither unto him; to whom they declared how the king's pleasure  
30 was that he should surrender and deliver up the great seal into their hands, and to depart

simply unto Esher, a house situate nigh Hampton Court, belonging to the Bishoprick of Winchester. My lord demanded of them what commission they had to give him any such commandment? who answered him again, that they were sufficient commissioners in that behalf, having the king's commandment by his mouth so to do. " Yet," quoth he, " that is not sufficient for me, without further commandment of the king's pleasure; for the great seal of England was delivered me by <sup>10</sup> the king's own person, to enjoy during my life, with the ministracion of the office and high room of chancellorship of England; for my surety whereof, I have the king's letters patent to show" Which matter was greatly debated between the dukes and him with many stout words between them; whose words and checks he took in patience for the time: insomuch that the dukes were fain to depart again without their purpose at that present; and returned again unto Windsor to <sup>20</sup> the king: and what report they made I cannot tell; howbeit, the next day they came again from the king, bringing with them the king's letters. After the receipt and reading of the same by my lord, which was done with much reverence, he delivered unto them the great seal, contented to obey the king's high commandment; and seeing that the king's pleasure was to take his house, with the contents, was well pleased simply to depart to Esher, taking nothing but only some provision <sup>30</sup> for his house.

And after long talk between the dukes and him, they departed, with the great seal of England, to Windsor, unto the king. Then went my Lord Cardinal and called all officers in every office in his house before him, to take account of all such stuff as they had in charge.

Then all things being ordered, my lord prepared him to depart by water. And before his departing, he commanded Sir William Gascoigne, 10 his treasurer, to see these things before remembered delivered safely to the king at his repair thither. That done, the said Sir William said unto my lord, "Sir, I am sorry for your grace, for I understand ye shall go straightway to the Tower." "Is this the good comfort and counsel," quoth my lord, "that ye can give your master in adversity? I would ye should know, Sir William, and all other such blasphemers, that it is nothing more false than that, for I never (thanks be to 20 God) deserved by no ways to come there under any arrest, although it has pleased the king to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time. I would all the world knew, and so I confess, to have nothing, either riches, honour, or dignity, that hath not grown of him and by him; therefore it is my very duty to surrender the same to him again as his very own, with all my heart, or else I were an unkind servant. Therefore go your ways, and give good attendance unto your charge, that nothing be embezzled." 30

And therewithal he made him ready to depart,

with all his gentlemen and yeomen, which was no small number, and took his barge at his privy stairs, and so went by water unto Putney, where all his horses waited his coming. And at the taking of his barge there was no less than a thousand boats full of men and women of the city of London, *waffeting* up and down in Thames, expecting my lord's departing, supposing that he should have gone directly from thence to the Tower, whereat they rejoiced, and I dare <sup>to</sup> be bold to say that the most part never received damage at his hands.

When he was with all his train landed at Putney, he took his mule, and every man his horse. And setting forth, he espied a man coming riding empot down the hill, in Putney town, demanding of his footmen who they thought it should be? And they answered that they supposed it should be Sir Harry Norris. And by-and-bye he came to my lord and saluted him, and said "that the 20 king's majesty had him commended to his Grace, and willed him in any wise to be of good cheer, for he was as much in his highness's favour as ever he was, and so shall be." And in token thereof, he delivered him a ring of gold, with a rich stone, which ring he knew very well, for it was always the privy token between the king and him whensoever the king would have any special matter dispatched at his hands. And said furthermore, "that the king commanded him to 30 be of good cheer, and take no thought, for he

should not lack. And although the king hath dealt with you unkindly as ye suppose, he saith that it is for no displeasure that he beareth you, but only to satisfy more the minds of some (which he knoweth be not your friends), than for any indignation: and all this he bade me, that I should show you; therefore, Sir, take patience. And for my part, I trust to see you in better estate than ever ye were." But when he heard  
10 Master Norris rehearse all the good and comfortable words of the king, he quickly lighted from off his mule, all alone, as though he had been the youngest person amongst us, and incontinent kneeled down in the dirt upon both his knees, holding up his hands for joy. Master Norris perceiving him so quickly from his mule upon the ground, mused, and was astonished. And therewith he alighted also, and kneeled by him, embracing him in his arms, and asked him how  
20 he did, calling upon him to credit his message. "Master Norris," quoth he, "when I consider your comfortable and joyful news, I can do no less than to rejoice, for the sudden joy surmounted my memory, having no respect neither to the place or time, but thought it my very bounden duty to render thanks to God my maker, and to the king my sovereign lord and master, who hath sent me such comfort, in the very place where I received the same."  
30 Then rode he forth up the hill into the town, talking with Master Norris. And when he came

upon Putney Heath, Master Norris took his leave and would have departed. Then quoth my lord unto him, "Gentle Norris, if I were lord of a realm, the one half thereof were insufficient a reward to give you for your pains, and good comfortable news. But, good Master Norris, consider with me, that I have nothing left me but my clothes on my back. Therefore I desire you to take this small reward of my hands;" the which was a little chain of gold, made like a <sup>10</sup> bottle chain, with a cross of gold hanging thereat, wherein was a piece of the *Holy Cross*, which he wore continually about his neck, next his skin; and said furthermore, "I assure you, Master Norris, that when I was in prosperity, although it seem but small in value, yet I would not gladly have departed with it for the value of a thousand pounds. Therefore I beseech you to wear it about your neck for my sake, and as often as ye shall happen to look upon it, have me in <sup>20</sup> remembrance to the king's majesty, as opportunity shall serve you, unto whose highness and clemency, I desire you to have me most lowly commended; for whose charitable disposition towards me, I can do nothing but only minister my prayer unto God for the preservation of his royal estate, long to reign in honour, health, and quiet life." And with that he took Master Norris by the hand and bade him farewell. And being gone but a small distance, he returned, <sup>30</sup> and called Master Norris again, and when he

was returned, he said unto him: "I am sorry," quoth he, "that I have no condign token to send to the king. But if ye would at this my request present the king with this poor Fool, I trust his highness would accept him well, for surely for a nobleman's pleasure he is worth a thousand pounds." So Master Norris took the Fool with him; with whom my lord was fain to send six of his tall yeomen, to conduct and convey the Fool to the court; for the poor Fool took on and fired so in such a rage when he saw that he must needs depart from my lord. Yet notwithstanding they conveyed him with Master Norris to the court, where the king received him most gladly.

After the departure of Master Norris with his token to the king, my lord rode straight to Esher, a house appertaining to the Bishoprick of Winchester, situate within the county of Surrey, not far from Hampton Court, where my lord and his family continued the space of three or four weeks, without beds, sheets, table-cloths, cups and dishes to eat our meat. Howbeit, there was good provision of all kind of victuals, and of drink, both beer and wine, whereof there was sufficient and plenty. My lord was of necessity compelled to borrow of the Bishop of Carlisle, and of Sir Thomas Arundell, both dishes to eat his meat in, and plate to drink in, and also linen cloths to occupy. And thus continued he in this strange estate until the feast of All-hallown-tide was past.

It chanced me upon All-hallowen day to come there into the *Great Chamber* at Esher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Master Cromwell leaning in the great window, with a Primer in his hand, saying of our Lady mattins; which had been since a very strange sight. He prayed not more earnestly than the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade good morrow. And with that I perceived the tears upon his cheeks. To whom I said, "Why, <sup>10</sup> Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus? or is it for any loss that ye have sustained by any misadventure?"

"Nay, nay," quoth he, "it is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service. I understand right well, that I am in disdain with most men for my master's sake. I never had any pro- <sup>20</sup> motion by my lord to the increase of my living. And thus much will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this afternoon, when my lord hath dined, to ride to London, and so to the court, where I will either make or mar, or I come again." "Marry, Sir," quoth I, "in so doing, ye shall do very well and wisely, beseeching God to be your guide, and send you good luck, even as I would myself."

After that the board's end was taken up, <sup>30</sup> Master Cromwell came to me and said, "Assemble

all my lord's servants up into the great chamber ; " and so I did, and when they were all there assembled, I assigned all the gentlemen to stand on the right side of the chamber, and the yeomen on the left side. And at the last my lord came thither, apparellled in a white rochet upon a violet gown of cloth like a bishop's, who went straight into the great window. Standing there a while, and his chaplains about him, beholding   
 10 his servants, he could not speak unto them for tenderness of his heart ; the flood of tears that distilled from his eyes declared no less : the which perceived by his servants, caused the fountains of water to gush out of their faithful hearts down their cheeks, in such abundance as it would cause a cruel heart to lament. At the last, after he had turned his face to the wall, and wiped his eyes with his handkerchief, he spake to them after this sort : " Most faithful gentlemen and true-  
 20 hearted yeomen, I do not only lament to see your persons present about me, but I do lament my negligent ingratitude towards you all on my behalf, in whom hath been a great default, that in my prosperity I have not done for you so much as I might have done, but then I knew not my jewels and special treasures that I had of you my faithful servants in my house ; but now approved experience hath taught me. But now it is come to this pass, that it hath pleased   
 30 the king to take all that ever I have into his possession, so that I have nothing left me but

my bare clothes upon my back, the which be but simple in comparison to those that ye have seen me have or this: howbeit, if they may do you any good or pleasure, I would not stick to divide them among you, yea, and the skin of my back, if it might countervail any thing in value among you. But, good gentlemen and yeomen, I most heartily require you to take with me some patience a little while, for I doubt not but that the king will shortly, I doubt not, restore me <sup>10</sup> again to my living, so that I shall be more able to divide some part thereof yearly among you. And if the king do not thus shortly restore me, then will I see you bestowed according to your own requests, and write for you, either to the king, or to any other noble person within this realm, to retain you into service. Therefore, in the mean time, mine advice is, that ye repair home to your wives, such as have any: and such among you as hath none, to take this time to visit <sup>20</sup> your parents and friends in the country. There is none of you all, but once in a year would require license to visit your wives and other of your friends. Therefore I desire you to take your pleasures for a month, and then ye may come again unto me, and I trust by that time the king's majesty will extend his clemency upon me."

"Sir," quoth Master Cromwell, "there is divers of these your yeomen, that would be glad to see their friends, but they lack money: therefore here <sup>30</sup> is divers of your chaplains who have received at

your hands great benefices and high dignities ; let them therefore now show themselves unto you as they are bound by all humanity to do. And for my part, although I have not received of your Grace's gift one penny towards the increase of my yearly living, yet will I depart with you this towards the dispatch of your servants," and therewith delivered him five pounds in gold. "And now let us see what your chaplains will do."

10 "Go to, masters," quoth he to the chaplains : insomuch as some gave to him ten pounds, some ten marks, some a hundred shillings, and so some more and some less, as at that time their powers did extend ; whereby my lord received among them as much money of their liberality as he gave to each of his yeomen a quarter's wages, and board wages for a month ; and they departed down into the hall, where some determined to go to their friends, and some said that they would  
20 not depart from my lord until they might see him in better estate. My lord returned into his chamber lamenting the departure from his servants, making his moan unto Master Cromwell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my lord to give him leave to go to London, where he would either make or mar or he came again, which was always his common saying. Then after long communication with my lord in secret, he departed and took his horse, and rode to  
30 London, at whose departing I was by, whom he bade farewell ; and said, "Ye shall hear shortly of

me, and if I speed well, I will not fail to be here again within these two days." And so I took my leave of him, and he rode forth on his journey.

## CHAPTER IV

## IN DISGRACE. THE WRIT OF PRÆMUNIRE.

THE case stood so, that there should begin, shortly after All-hallown-tide, the Parliament, and Master Cromwell, being within London, devised with himself to be one of the burgesses of the Parliament, and chanced to meet with one Sir Thomas Rush, knight, a special friend of his, <sup>10</sup> whose son was appointed to be one of the burgesses of that Parliament, of whom he obtained his room, and by that means put his foot into the Parliament House: then within two or three days after his entry into the Parliament, he came unto my lord, to Esher, with a much pleasanter countenance than he had at his departure. And when he was come to my lord, they talked together in secret manner; and that done, he rode out of hand again that night to London. <sup>20</sup> There could nothing be spoken against my lord — in the Parliament House but he would answer it incontinent, or else take until the next day, against which time he would resort to my lord to

know what answer he should make in his behalf ; insomuch that there was no matter alleged against my lord but that he was ever ready furnished with a sufficient answer ; so that at length, for his honest behaviour in his master's cause, he grew into such estimation in every man's opinion, that he was esteemed to be the most faithfulest servant to his master of all other, wherein he was of all men greatly commended.

Then was there brought in a Bill of Articles into the Parliament House to have my lord condemned of treason ; against which bill Master Cromwell inveighed so discreetly, with such witty persuasions and deep reasons, that the same bill could take there no effect. Then were his enemies compelled to indict him in a *praemunire*, and all was done only to the intent to entitle the king to all his goods and possessions, the which he had gathered together, and purchased for his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, which was then abuilding in most sumptuous wise. Wherein when he was demanded by the judges, which were sent to him purposely to examine him what answer he would make to the same, he said : " Notwithstanding I have the king's license in my coffers, under his hand and broad seal, for exercising and using the authority thereof, in the largest wise, within his highness's dominions. Therefore, because I will not stand in question or trial with the king in his own cause, I am content here of mine own frank

will and mind, in your presence, to confess the offence in the indictment, and put me wholly in the mercy and grace of the king. And although I might justly stand on the trial with him therein, yet I am content to submit myself to his clemency, and thus much ye may say to him in my behalf, that I am entirely in his obedience, and do intend, God willing, to obey and fulfil all his princely pleasure in every thing that he will command me to do ; whose will and pleasure I never yet disobeyed, but was always contented and glad to accomplish his commandment before God, whom I ought most rathest to have obeyed ; the which negligence now greatly repenteth me. Notwithstanding, I most heartily require you, to have me most humbly to his royal majesty commended, for whom I do and will pray for the preservation of his royal person, long to reign in honour, prosperity, and quietness, and to have the victory over his mortal and cankered enemies." And they took their leave of him and departed.

Shortly after, it chanced Master Shelley, the judge, to come thither, sent from the king ; whereof relation was made to my lord. And my lord issued out of his chamber, and came to Master Shelley to know his message. Who declared unto him, after due salutation, "that the king's pleasure was to have his house at Westminster, (then called York Place, belonging to the 30 Bishoprick of York,) intending to make of that

house a palace royal. His highness hath therefore sent for all the judges, and for all his learned counsel, to know their opinions; in whose determinations it was fully resolved, that your Grace should recognise, before a judge, the right thereof to be in the king and his successors; and so his highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased his majesty to appoint me by his commandment to come 10 hither, to take of you this recognisance, who hath in you such affiance, that ye will not refuse so to do accordingly. Therefore I shall desire your Grace to know your good will therein.” “Master Shelley,” quoth my lord, “I know that the king of his own nature is of a royal stomach, and yet not willing more than justice shall lead him unto by the law. And therefore, I counsel you, and all other fathers of the law and learned men of his counsel, to put no more into his head 20 than the law may stand with good conscience; for law without conscience is not good to be given unto a king in counsel to use for a lawful right. Therefore, how say you, Master Shelley, may I do it with justice and conscience, to give that thing away from me and my successors which is none of mine? If this be law, with conscience, show me your opinion, I pray you.” “Forsooth, my lord,” quoth he, “there is some conscience in this case; but having regard to the 30 king’s high power, and to be employed to a better use and purpose, it may the better be suffered

with conscience ; who is sufficient to make recompence to the church of York with double the value." "That I know well," quoth my lord, "but here is no such condition neither promised nor agreed, but only a bare and simple departure with another's right for ever. Sir, I do not intend to stand in terms with you in this matter, but let me see your commission." To whom Master Shelley showed the same, and that seen, and perceived by him, said again thus: "Master 10 Shelley," quoth he, "ye shall make report to the king's highness, that I am his obedient subject, whose royal commandment and request I will in no wise disobey, but most gladly fulfil and accomplish his princely will and pleasure inasmuch as ye, the fathers of the laws, say that I may lawfully do it. Therefore I charge your conscience and discharge mine. Howbeit, I pray you, show his majesty from me, that I most humbly desire his highness to call to his most 20 gracious remembrance, that there is both heaven and hell." And therewith the clerk was called, who wrote my lord's recognisance, and Master Shelley departed.

Thus continued my lord at Esher, who received daily messages from the court, whereof some were not so good as some were bad, but yet much more evil than good. For his enemies, perceiving the great affection that the king bare always towards him, devised a mean to disquiet and disturb his 30 patience ; thinking thereby to give him an occa-

sion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue than increase of health or life, the which they most desired.

Therefore they took this order among them in their matters, that daily they would send him something, or do something against him, wherein they thought that they might give him a cause of heaviness or lamentation. As some day they would cause the king to send for four or five  
10 of his gentlemen from him to serve the king : and some other day they would lay matters newly invented against him. Another day they would take from him some of his promotions ; or of their promotions whom he had preferred before. Then would they fetch from him some of his yeomen ; insomuch as the king took into service sixteen of them at once, and at one time put them into his guard. This order of life he led continually ; that there was no one day but he had an occasion  
20 greatly to chafe or fret his heart out.

At Christmas he fell sore sick, that he was likely to die. Whereof the king being advertised, was very sorry therefore, and sent Doctor Buttes, his Grace's physician, unto him, to see in what estate he was. Doctor Buttes came unto him, and finding him very sick lying in his bed ; and perceiving the danger he was in repaired again unto the king. Of whom the king demanded, saying, "How doth yonder man, have you seen  
30 him ?" "Yea, Sir," quoth he. "How do you like him ?" quoth the king. "Forsooth, Sir,"

quoth he, "if you will have him dead, I warrant your Grace he will be dead within these four days, if he receive no comfort from you shortly, and Mistress Anne." "Marry," quoth the king, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, good Master Buttes, go again unto him, and do your cure upon him; for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." "Then must your Grace," quoth Master Buttes, "send him first some comfortable message." "Even so will I," 10 quoth the king, "by you. And therefore make speed to him again, and ye shall deliver him from me this ring for a token of our good will and favour towards him (in the which ring was engraved the king's visage within a ruby, as lively counterfeit as was possible to be devised). This ring he knoweth very well; for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my heart nothing at all, and that shall he perceive, and God send him life, very shortly. Therefore 20 bid him be of good cheer, and pluck up his heart, and take no despair. And I charge you come not from him, until ye have brought him out of all danger of death" And then spake he to Mistress Anne, saying, "Good sweetheart, I pray you at this my instance, as ye love us, to send the cardinal a token with comfortable words; and in so doing ye shall do us a loving pleasure" She being not minded to disobey the king's 30 earnest request, whatsoever she intended in her heart towards the cardinal, took incontinent her

tablet of gold hanging at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Buttes, with very gentle and comfortable words and commendations to the cardinal. And thus Master Buttes departed, and made speedy return to Esher, to my Lord Cardinal ; after whom the king sent Doctor Clement, Doctor Wotton, and Doctor Cromer the Scot, to consult and assist Master Buttes for my lord's health.

10 After that Master Buttes had been with my lord, and delivered the king's and Mistress Anne's tokens unto him, with the most comfortable words he could devise on their behalf, whereat he rejoiced not a little, advancing him a little in his bed, and received their tokens most joyfully, thanking Master Buttes for his comfortable news and pains. Master Buttes showed him furthermore, that the king's pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health ; and hath sent  
20 Doctor Wotton, Doctor Clement, and Doctor Cromer, to join with him in counsel and ministration. After they had taken order for ministration, it was not long or they brought him out of all danger and fear of death ; and within four days they set him on his feet, and got him a good stomach to his meat. This done, they took their leave to depart, to whom my lord offered his reward ; the which they refused, saying that the king gave them in special commandment, to take nothing of him  
30 for their pains and ministration ; for at their return his highness said that he would reward

them of his own costs: and thus with great thanks they departed from my lord.

After this time my lord daily amended, and so continued still at Esher until Candlemas; against which feast, the king caused to be sent him three or four cart-loads of stuff. Then my lord, being thus furnished, was therewith well contented; although they whom the king assigned did not deliver him so good nor so rich stuff, as the king's pleasure was, yet was <sup>10</sup> he joyous thereof, and rendered most humble thanks to the king.

Then commanded he Master Cromwell, being with him, to make suit to the king's majesty, that he might remove thence to some other place, for he was weary of that house of Esher: for with continual use thereof the house waxed unsavoury; supposing that if he might remove from thence he should much sooner recover his health. And also the council had put into the <sup>20</sup> king's head, that the new gallery at Esher, which my lord had late before his fall newly set up, should be very necessary for the king, to take down and set it up again at Westminster; which was done accordingly, and stands at this present day there. The taking away thereof before my lord's face was to him a corrosive, which was invented by his enemies only to torment him. Now Master Cromwell made only suit to the king's own person; whose suit the <sup>30</sup> king graciously heard, and thought it very con-

venient to be granted ; the king was well contented that he should remove to Richmond, which place my lord had a little before repaired to his great cost and charge ; for the king had made an exchange thereof with him for Hampton Court. All this his removing was done without the knowledge of the king's council, for if they might have had any intelligence thereof before, then would they have persuaded the king to  
10 the contrary : but when they were advertised of the king's grant and pleasure, they dissimulated their countenances in the king's presence, for they were greatly afraid of him, lest his nigh being, the king might at length some one time resort to him, and so call him home again. Insomuch that they thought it convenient to inform the king that it were very necessary that my lord should go down into the North unto his benefice of York, where he should be  
20 a good stay for the country, to the which the king, supposing that they had meant no less than good faith, granted their suggestions. Whereupon the Duke of Norfolk commanded Master Cromwell, who had daily access unto him, to say to my lord, that it is the king's pleasure that he should with speed go to his benefice. Master Cromwell at his next repair to my lord, who lay then at Richmond, declared unto him what my Lord of Norfolk said, how  
30 it was determined that he should go to his benefice. " Well then, Thomas," quoth my lord,

"seeing there is no other remedy, I do intend to go to my benefice of Winchester, and I pray you, Thomas, so show my Lord of Norfolk." "Contented, Sir," quoth Master Cromwell, and did so. To the which my Lord of Norfolk answered and said, "What will he do there? Nay," quoth he, "let him go into his province of York, as he ought to do." The lords thought to withdraw his appetite from Winchester, and would in no wise permit him to plant himself <sup>10</sup> so nigh the king: they moved therefore the king to give my lord but a pension out of Winchester, and to distribute all the rest among the nobility and other of his worthy servants; and in likewise to do the same with the revenues of St. Albans; and of the revenues of his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, the which the king took into his own hands. Out of the revenues of Winchester and St. Albans the king gave to some one nobleman three hundred marks, and to some <sup>20</sup> a hundred pounds, and to some more and to some less, according to the king's royal pleasure.

It came at length so to pass that those to whom the king's majesty had given any annuities by patent out of the fore-named revenues could not be good, but only during my lord's life; and to make their estates good it was thought necessary to have my lord's confirmation unto their grants. And this to be brought about, there was no other mean but to make suit <sup>30</sup> to Master Cromwell to obtain their confirma-

tion at my lord's hands, whom they thought might best obtain the same; and for his pains therein sustained, they promised every man, not only worthily to reward him, but also to show him such pleasures as should at all times lie in their several powers.

Then at his next resort to my lord, by their witty heads it was devised that they should work together by one line, to bring Master <sup>10</sup> Cromwell in place and estate, where he might do himself good and my lord much profit. Now began matters to work to bring Master Cromwell into estimation in such sort as was afterwards much to his increase and dignity. (*And*) Master Cromwell made a continuance of great suit to my lord for the same [*confirmation of patents to divers noblemen*,] that in process of time he served all their turns so that they had their purposes, and he their good wills.

<sup>20</sup> Now the lords thought long to remove my lord farther from the king, wherefore my Lord of Norfolk said to Master Cromwell, "Sir," quoth he, "me thinketh that the cardinal your master maketh no haste northward; show him, that if he go not away shortly, I will, rather than he should tarry still, tear him with my teeth." These words Master Cromwell reported to my lord at his next repair unto him. And here I will show you of my lord's being at Richmond.

<sup>30</sup> My lord, having license of the king to remove to Richmond, made haste to prepare him thither-

ward ; and so lodged within the great park there, which was a very pretty house and a neat, lacking no necessary rooms that to so small a house was convenient and necessary ; where was to the same a very proper garden garnished with divers pleasant walks and alleys ; my lord continued in this lodge from the time that he came thither, shortly after Candlemas, until it was Lent, with a privy number of servants, because of the smallness of the house, and the rest of his family went to 10 board wages.

You have heard what words the Duke of Norfolk had to Master Cromwell touching my lord's going to the North to his benefice of York, at such time as Master Cromwell declared the same to my lord, to whom my lord answered in this wise : " Marry, Thomas," quoth he, " then it is time to be going, if my Lord of Norfolk take it so. Therefore I pray you go to the king and move his highness in my behalf, and say that I 20 would, with all my heart, go to my benefice at York, but for want of money ; desiring his Grace to assist me with some money towards my journey. For ye may say that the last money that I received of his majesty hath been too little to pay my debts, wherein I trust his Grace will have a charitable respect. Ye may say also to my Lord of Norfolk, and other of the council, that I would depart if I had money." " Sir," quoth Master Cromwell, " I will do my best." And he departed 30 again, and went to London.

My lord then in the beginning of Lent removed out of the lodge into the Charterhouse of Richmond, where he lay in a lodging, which Doctor Colet, sometime Dean of Paul's, had made for himself until he removed northward, which was in the Passion Week after ; and he had to the same house a secret gallery, which went out of his chamber into the Charterhouse church, whither he resorted every day to their service ; and at after-  
10 noons he would sit in contemplation with one or other of the most ancient fathers of that house in his cell, who among them by their counsel persuaded him from the vain-glory of this world, and gave him divers shirts of hair, the which he often wore afterward, whereof I am certain.

After long debating it was concluded, that he should have a thousand marks out of Winchester Bishoprick, beforehand of his pension, which the king had granted him out of the same.  
20 So that, they declared the same to the king, who straightway commanded the said thousand marks to be delivered out of hand to Master Cromwell ; and so it was. The king, calling Master Cromwell to him secretly, said : " Show my lord your master, although our council hath not assigned any sufficient sum of money to bear his charges, yet ye shall show him in my behalf, that I will send him a thousand pound of my benevolence ; and tell him that he shall not lack, and bid him be of  
30 good cheer." Master Cromwell upon his knees most humbly thanked the king on my lord's

behalf, for his great benevolence and noble heart towards my lord : " Those comfortable words of your Grace," quoth he, " shall rejoice him more than three times the value of your noble reward." And therewith departed from the king and came to my lord directly to Richmond ; to whom he delivered the money, which the council sent him ; and the money which the king sent him, and his comfortable words ; whereof my lord rejoiced not a little, and was greatly comforted. 10

## CHAPTER V.

## ARREST FOR HIGH TREASON.

THEN my lord prepared all things with speed for his journey into the North, so that he took the same in the beginning of the Passion Week, before Easter ; and so rode to a place, then the abbot's of Westminster, called Hendon ; and the next day he removed to a place called the Rye ; where my Lady Parrey lay ; the next day he rode to Royston, and lodged in the monastery there ; and the next he removed to Huntingdon, and there lodged in the Abbey ; and from thence he 20 removed to Peterborough, and there lodged also within the Abbey, being then Palm Sunday, where he made his abode until the Thursday in Easter week, with all his train , whereof the most

part went on board wages in the town, having twelve carts to carry his stuff of his own, which came from his college in Oxford. Upon Palm Sunday he went in procession, with the monks, bearing his palm, setting forth God's service right honourably, with such singing men as he then had remaining with him. And upon Maundy Thursday he made his Maundy in our Lady's Chapel, having fifty-nine poor men, whose feet he washed, 10 wiped, and kissed ; each of these poor men had twelve pence in money, three ells of canvas to make them shirts, a pair of new shoes, a cast of bread, three red herrings, and three white herrings, and the odd person had two shillings. Upon Easter Day in the morning he rode to the resurrection, and that day he went in procession in his cardinal's vesture, with his hat and hood on his head, and he himself sang there the high mass very devoutly ; and granted clean remission to all 20 the hearers.

My lord continuing at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove from thence, sent me to Sir William Fitzwilliams, a knight, which dwelt within three or four miles of Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging until Monday next following. And he rejoiced not a little that it would please my lord to visit his house in his way ; saying, that he should be most heartiliest welcome of any man alive, the king's majesty excepted. Thus upon my report made to my 30 lord at my return, he rejoiced of my message.

So that my lord took his journey from Peterborough upon the Thursday in Easter week, to Master Fitzwilliams, where he was joyously received, and had right worthy and honourable entertainment at the only charge and expense of the said Master Fitzwilliams.

Thus my lord continued there until the Monday next; (*when*) my lord departed from thence unto Stamford; where he lay that night. And the next day he removed unto Grantham, and was lodged in 10 a gentleman's house, called Master Hall. And the next day he rode to Newark, and lodged in the castle all that night; the next day he rode to Southwell, a place of my lord's within three or four miles of Newark, where he intended to continue all that summer, as he did after. Where he was fain for lack of reparation of the bishop's place, which appertained to the see of York, to be lodged in a prebendary's house against the said place, and there kept house until Whitsuntide 20 next, against which time he removed into the place, newly amended and repaired, and there continued the most part of the summer, not without great resort of the most worshipfullest gentlemen of the country, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had of him the best cheer he could devise for them, whose gentle and familiar behaviour with them caused him to be greatly beloved and esteemed through the whole country.

He kept a noble house, and plenty of both

meat and drink for all comers, both for rich and poor, and much alms given at his gates. He used much charity and pity among his poor tenants and other; although the fame thereof was no pleasant sound in the ears of his enemies, howbeit the common people will report as they find cause; for he was much more familiar among all persons than he was accustomed, and most gladdest when he had an occasion to do them good. He made  
10 many agreements and concords between gentleman and gentleman, and between some gentlemen and their wives that had been long asunder, and in great trouble, and divers other agreements; making great assemblies for the same purpose, not sparing for any costs, where he might make a peace and amity; which purchased him much love and friendship in the country.

After this sort my lord continued at Southwell, until the latter end of grease time; at which time  
20 he intended to remove to Scroby, which was another house of the Bishoprick of York. His intent was not so secret, but that it was known abroad in the country; which was lamentable to all his neighbours about Southwell, and as it was lamentable unto them, so was it as much joy to his neighbours about Scroby.

And the next day he came to Scroby, where he continued until after Michaelmas, ministering many deeds of charity. Most commonly every  
30 Sunday (if the weather did serve) he would travel unto some parish church thereabout, and there

would say his divine service, and either hear or say mass himself, causing some one of his chaplains to preach unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house of that town, where should be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well of meat and drink as of money. And thus he daily frequented himself there about deeds of honest charity.

Then about the feast of St. Michael next ensuing my lord took his journey towards Cawood <sup>10</sup>; and passing thither he lay two nights and a day at St. Oswald's Abbey, where he himself confirmed children in the church, from eight of the clock in the morning until twelve of the clock at noon. And making a short dinner, resorted again to the church at one of the clock, and there began again to confirm more children until four of the clock, where he was at the last constrained for weariness to sit down in a chair, the number of the children <sup>20</sup> was such. That done, he said his evensong, and then went to supper. And the next morning he applied himself to depart towards Cawood; and or ever he departed, he confirmed almost a hundred children more; and then rode on his journey. And by the way there were assembled at a stone cross standing upon a green, within a quarter of a mile of Ferrybridge, about the number of two hundred children, to confirm; where he alighted, and never removed his foot <sup>30</sup> until he had confirmed them all; and then took

his mule again and rode to Cawood, where he lay long after with much honour and love of the country, both of the worshipful and of the simple, exercising himself in good deeds of charity, and kept there an honourable and plentiful house for all comers ; and also built and repaired the castle, which was then greatly decayed, having a great multitude of artificers and labourers, above the number of three hundred persons, daily in wages.

10 My lord determined to be stalled at York in the minster the next Monday after All-hallowen day. Against which day there was made necessary preparation for the furniture thereof, but not in so sumptuous a wise as his predecessors did before him ; nor yet in such a sort as the common fame was blown abroad of him to his great slander, wherein there is nothing more untrue. The truth whereof I perfectly know, for I was sent to York to prepare according for the same.

20 It came so to pass, that upon All-hallowen day, one of the head officers of the church, which should, by virtue of his office, have most doings in this stallation, was to dine with my lord at Cawood ; and sitting at dinner they fell in communication of the order of his stallation, who said to my lord that he ought to go upon cloth from St. James's chapel (standing without the gates of the city of York) unto the minster, the which should be distributed among the poor. My lord, 30 hearing this, made answer to the same in this wise. "Although," quoth he, "that our predeces-

sors went upon cloth right sumptuously, we do intend, God willing, to go afoot from thence without any such glory, in the vamps of our hosen. For I take God to be my very judge that I presume not to go thither for any triumph or vainglory, but only to fulfil the observance and rules of the church. I do intend to come to York upon Sunday at night, and lodge there in the dean's house, and upon Monday to be stalled ; and there to make a dinner for you of <sup>10</sup> the close, and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come to me at that time ; and the next day to dine with the mayor, and so return home again to Cawood that night, and thus to finish the same, whereby I may at all times resort to York Minster without other scrupulosity or offence to any of you."

This day could not be unknown to all the country, but that some must needs have knowledge thereof, whereby the gentlemen of the <sup>20</sup> country sent in such provision of dainty victuals that it is almost incredible ; all which things were unknown to my lord, because he was arrested, as ye shall hear hereafter ; so that the most part of this provision was sent to York that same day that he was arrested, and the next day following ; for his arrest was kept as close and secret from the country as it could be, because they doubted the people, which had him in great love and estimation for his accustomed <sup>30</sup> charity and liberality used daily among them,

with familiar gesture and countenance, which be the very means to allure the love and hearts of the people in the north parts.

My lord's enemies in the court had now my lord in more doubt than they had before his fall, considering the continual favour that the king bare him, thought that at length the king might call him home again. Now at the last, the king, upon their information, thought it good that  
10 he should come up to stand to his trial ; which they liked nothing at all ; notwithstanding he was sent for after this sort. First, they devised that he should come up upon arrest in ward, which they knew right well would so sore grieve him that he might be the weaker to come into the king's presence to make answer. Wherefore they sent Sir Walter Walshe, knight, one of the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber, down into the country unto the Earl of Northumberland  
20 (who was brought up in my lord's house), and they twain being in commission jointly to arrest my lord of hault treason.

The time drawing nigh of his stallation ; sitting at dinner, upon the Friday next before Monday on the which he intended to be stalled at York, the Earl of Northumberland and Master Walshe, with a great company of gentlemen, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers sitting at dinner, and my lord not fully dined, but being at  
30 his fruits, nothing knowing of the earl's being in his hall. The first thing that the earl did, after

he came into the castle, he commanded the porter to deliver him the keys of the gates, who would in no wise deliver him the keys, although he were very roughly commanded in the king's name, to deliver them to one of the earl's servants. "Well then," quoth the earl, "hold him a book," and commanded him to lay his hand upon the book, whereat the porter laid his hand upon the book, to whom, quoth the earl, "Thou shalt swear, to keep well and truly these gates to the 10 king our sovereign lord's use, and that ye shall not let in nor out at these gates, but such as ye shall be commanded by us, from time to time," and upon this oath he received the keys at the earl's and Master Walshe's hands.

Of all these doings knew my lord nothing. At the last one of my lord's servants chanced to look down into the hall at a loop that was upon the stairs, and returned to my lord, and showed him that my Lord of Northumberland 20 was in the hall; whereat my lord marvelled, and would not believe him at the first; but commanded his gentleman usher to go down and bring him perfect word. Who going down the stairs, looking down at the loop, where he saw the earl, who then returned to my lord, and showed him that it was very he. "Then," quoth my lord, "I am sorry that we have dined, for I fear that our officers be not stored of any plenty of good fish, to make 30 him honourable cheer, notwithstanding he shall

have such as we have, with a right good will. Let the table be standing still, and we will go down and meet him." With that he rose up ; going down he encountered the earl upon the midst of the stairs, coming up, with all his men about him. And as soon as my lord espied the earl, he put off his cap, and said to him, " My lord, ye be most heartily welcome ; (and therewith they embraced each other). " My lord," quoth he, " I have often desired to see you in my house. Ye shall have such cheer as I am able to make you, with a right good will ; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as of your very old and loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftener." And then my lord took the Earl of Northumberland by the hand, and led him up into the chamber ; whom followed all the earl's servants. Then my lord led the earl to the fire, saying, " My lord, ye shall go into my bedchamber, where is a good fire made for you, and there ye may shift your apparel until your chamber be made ready. Therefore let your male be brought up : and or ever I go, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands, he returned to the earl, and said, " Ah, my lord, I perceive well that ye have observed my old precepts to cherish your father's old servants, whereof I see here present with you a great number. Surely, my lord, ye do

therein very well and nobly, and like a wise gentleman. For these be they that will not only serve and love you, but they will also live and die with you, and be true and faithful servants to you, and glad to see you prosper in honour ; the which I beseech God to send you, with long life." This said, he took the earl by the hand, and led him into his bed-chamber. And they being there all alone, save only I, that kept the door, according to my <sup>10.</sup> duty, being gentleman usher ; these two lords standing at a window by the chimney, in my lord's bedchamber, the earl trembling said, with a very faint and soft voice, unto my lord (laying his hand upon his arm), " My lord, I arrest you of high treason." With which words my lord was marvellously astonished, standing both still a long space without any further words. But at the last, quoth my lord, " What moveth you, or by what authority do you this ? " " Forsooth, <sup>20</sup> my lord," quoth the earl, " I have a commission to warrant me and my doing." " Where is your commission ? " quoth my lord ; " let me see it." " Nay, Sir, that you may not," quoth the earl. " Well, then," quoth my lord, " I will not obey your arrest unless I see your authority and commission." Even as they were debating this matter between them in the chamber, so busy was Master Walshe in arresting of Doctor Augustine, the physician, at the door within <sup>30</sup> the portal, whom I heard say unto him, " Go

in then, traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that, I opened the portal door, and the same being opened, Master Walshe thrust Doctor Augustine in before him with violence. Master Walshe, being entered the chamber, kneeled down to my lord, to whom my lord spake first, commanding him to stand up, saying thus, "Sir, here my Lord of Northumberland hath arrested me of treason, but by what authority or commission he showeth me not; but saith he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you show me." "Indeed, my lord," quoth Master Walshe, "if it please your Grace, it is true that he hath one." "Well, then," said my lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseech your Grace hold us excused," quoth Master Walshe, "there is annexed unto our commission a schedule with certain instructions which ye may in no wise be privy unto." "Why," quoth my lord, "be your instructions such that I may not see them? Well, there is no more to do. I trow, gentleman, ye be one of the king's privy chamber; your name, I suppose, is Walshe; I am content to yield unto you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, without I see his commission. I take God to witness, I never offended the king's majesty in word or deed; and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive." Then came my Lord of Northumberland unto me, standing at the portal door, and commanded

me to avoid the chamber: and being loth to depart from my master, I stood still, and would not remove; to whom he spake again, and said, "There is no remedy, ye must needs depart." With that I looked upon my lord (as who sayeth, shall I go?), upon whom my lord looked very heavily, and shook at me his head. Perceiving by his countenance it booted me not to abide, and so I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many <sup>10</sup> gentlemen of my fellows, to learn of me some news of the matter within; to whom I made report what I saw and heard, which was to them great heaviness to hear.

Then the earl called divers gentlemen into the chamber, which were for the most part his own servants; and after the earl and Master Walshe had taken the keys of all my lord's coffers from him, they gave the charge and custody of my lord's person unto these gentlemen. <sup>20</sup> When it was night, the commissioners assigned two grooms of my lord's to attend upon him in his chamber that night where they lay; and the most part of the rest of the earl's gentlemen and servants watched in the next chamber and about the house continually until the morrow, and the porter kept the gates, so that no man could go in or out until the next morning. At which time my lord rose up, supposing that he should have departed that day, howbeit he <sup>30</sup> was kept close secretly in his chamber. Then

the earl sent for me and commanded me to go in to my lord, and there to give attendance upon him, and charged me upon an oath that I should observe certain articles. And then I resorted to my lord, where he was in his chamber sitting in a chair. But as soon as he perceived me coming in, he fell into such a woful lamentation, with such rueful terms and watery eyes, that it would have caused the flintiest heart 10 to have relented and burst for sorrow. And as I and other could, we comforted him ; but it would not be. "For," quoth he, "now that I see this gentleman (meaning me) how faithful, how diligent, and how painful since the beginning of my trouble he hath served me, abandoning his own country, his wife, and children ; his house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me, and remembering with myself that I have nothing to reward him for his 20 honest merits, grieveth me not a little. Wherefore (kneeling upon my knees before him), I said, "My lord, comfort yourself, and be of good cheer. The malice of your uncharitable enemies, nor their untruth, shall never prevail against your truth and faithfulness." With that came up my lord's meat ; notwithstanding my lord did eat very little meat, but would many times burst out suddenly in tears, with the most sorrowfullest words that hath been heard of any woful creature. 30 I suppose there was not a dry eye among all the gentlemen sitting at the table with him.

And when the table was taken up, it was showed my lord, that he could not remove that night (who expected none other all that day), quoth he, "Even when it shall seem my Lord of Northumberland good."

The next day, being Sunday, my lord prepared himself to ride when he should be commanded ; and after dinner there was assigned to attend upon him five of us, his own servants, and no more ; that is to say I, one chaplain, his barber, 10 and two grooms of his chamber. My lord demanded for the rest of his servants ; "Sir, I pray you," quoth my lord, "let me see them or ever I depart, or else I will never go out of this house." "Alack, my lord," quoth the earl, "they should trouble you ; therefore I beseech you to content yourself." "Well," quoth my lord, "then will I not depart out of this house, but I will see them, and take my leave of them in this chamber." And his servants began to grudge, and to make 20 such a rueful noise, that the commissioners thought it good to let them pass out to my lord, and that done they came to him into the great chamber where he was, and there they kneeled down before him ; among whom was not one dry eye, but pitifully lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whom my lord gave comfortable words and worthy praises for their diligent faithfulness and honest truth towards him, assuring them, that what chance soever should happen 30 unto him, that he was a true man and a just to

his sovereign lord. And thus with a lamentable manner, shaking each of them by the hands, was fain to depart, the night drew so fast upon them.

My lord's mule and our horses were ready brought into the inner court, where we mounted, and coming to the gate which was shut, the porter opened the same to let us pass, where was ready attending a great number of gentlemen <sup>10</sup> with their servants. But to tell you of the number of people of the country that were assembled at the gates which lamented his departing was wondrous, which was about the number of three thousand persons; who at the opening of the gates, after they had a sight of his person, cried all with a loud voice, "God save your Grace, God save your Grace! The foul evil take all them that hath thus taken you from us! we pray God that a very vengeance may <sup>20</sup> light upon them!" Thus they ran crying after him through the town of Cawood, they loved him so well. For surely they had a great loss of him, both the poor and the rich: for the poor had of him great relief; and the rich lacked his counsel in any business that they had to do, which caused him to have such love among them in the country.

## CHAPTER VI.

## WOLSEY'S ILLNESS AND DEATH.

FURTHERMORE, as we rode toward Pomfret, my lord demanded of me, whither they would lead him that night. "Forsooth, Sir," quoth I, "but to Pomfret." "Alas," quoth he, "shall I go to the castle, and lie there, and die like a beast?"

With that I repaired unto Sir Roger Lassels, knight, desiring him most earnestly that he would show me, whither my lord should be lodged that night; who answered me again that my lord should be lodged within the Abbey of Pomfret; <sup>10</sup> and so I reported to my lord, who was glad thereof; so that within night we came to Pomfret Abbey, and there lodged

The next day they removed with my lord towards Doncaster, desiring that he might come thither by night, because the people followed him weeping and lamenting, and so they did nevertheless although he came in by torchlight, crying, "God save your Grace, God save your Grace, my good Lord Cardinal," running before him with <sup>20</sup> candles in their hands, who caused me therefore to ride hard by his mule to shadow him from the people, and yet they perceived him, cursing his enemies. And thus they brought him to the Blackfriars, within the which they lodged him that night.

And the next day we removed to Sheffield Park, where the Earl of Shrewsbury lay within the lodge, and all the way thitherward the people cried and lamented as they did in all places as we rode before. And when we came into the park of Sheffield, nigh to the lodge, my Lord of Shrewsbury, with my lady his wife, a train of gentlewomen, and all my lord's gentlemen and yeomen standing without the gates of the lodge  
10 to attend my lord's coming, to receive him with much honour ; whom the earl embraced, saying these words : " My lord," quoth he, " your Grace is most heartily welcome unto me, and I am glad to see you in my poor lodge, the which I have often desired ; and should have been much more gladder, if you had come after another sort." " Ah, my gentle Lord of Shrewsbury," quoth my lord, " I heartily thank you : and although I have no cause to rejoice, yet, as a sorrowful heart may  
20 joy, I rejoice" " Sir," quoth the earl, " I am nothing sorry, but that I have not wherewith worthily to receive you ; but such as I have, ye are most heartily welcome thereto, for I will not receive you as a prisoner, but as my good lord, and the king's true faithful subject ; and here is my wife come to salute you" Whom my lord kissed bareheaded, and all her gentlewomen ; and took my lord's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen and yeomen as other. Then these  
30 two lords went arm and arm into the lodge, conducting my lord into a fair chamber at the end of

a goodly gallery, within a new tower where my lord was lodged.

Then departed all the great number of gentlemen and other that conducted my lord to the Earl of Shrewsbury's. And my lord continued there eighteen days. And once every day the earl would resort unto him, and sit with him communing upon a bench in a great window in the gallery. And though the earl would right heartily comfort him, yet would he lament so <sup>10</sup> piteously, that it would make the earl very sorry and heavy for his grief. "Sir," said he, "I daily do receive letters from the king, commanding me to entertain you as one that he loveth, and highly favoureth, whereby I perceive ye do lament much more than ye need to do. And though ye be accused, yet the king can do no less but put you to your trial, the which is more for the satisfying of some persons, than for any mistrust that he hath in <sup>20</sup> your doings." "Alas!" quoth my lord to the earl, "is it not a piteous case, that any man should so wrongfully accuse me unto the king's person? For I am well assured, my lord, that there is no man alive or dead that looketh in this face of mine, who is able to accuse me of any disloyalty toward the king. For, my good lord, if you will show yourself so much my good friend as to require the king's majesty, by your letters, that my accusers may come before my face in his <sup>30</sup> presence, and there that I may make answer, I

doubt not but ye shall see me acquit myself of all their malicious accusations, and utterly confound them." "Well then," quoth my Lord of Shrewsbury, "I will write to the king's majesty, declaring to him how grievously ye lament his displeasure and indignation; and what request ye make for the trial of your truth towards his highness."

It came to pass sitting at dinner in his own chamber, having at his board's end that same 10 day a mess of the earl's gentlemen and chaplains, and eating of roasted wardens at the end of his dinner, before whom I stood at the table, dressing of those wardens for him: beholding of him I perceived his colour often to change, whereby I judged him not to be in health. Which caused me to lean over the table, saying unto him softly, "Sir, me seemeth your Grace is not well at ease." He answered again and said, "Forsooth, no more I am; for I am," quoth he, 20 "suddenly taken about my stomach, with a thing that lieth overthwart my breast as cold as a whetstone; therefore I pray you take up the cloth, and make ye a short dinner, and resort shortly again unto me." And after that the table was taken up, I went and sat the waiters to dinner, without in the gallery, and resorted again to my lord, where I found him still sitting where I left him very ill at ease; notwithstanding he was in communication with the gentlemen sitting 30 at the board's end. And as soon as I was entered the chamber, he desired me to go down

to the apothecary, who brought in a white paper a certain white confection, and I delivered the same unto my lord, who received the same altogether at once. "See," quoth he, "by the means of this receipt I am, thank God, well-eased," and so he rose from the table, and went to his prayers

And I found him sitting at the upper end of the gallery, with his beads and staff in his hands. And he demanded of me what news. "Forsooth, <sup>10</sup> Sir," quoth I, "the best news that ever came to you; if your Grace can take it well." "I pray God it be," quoth he, "what is it?" "Forsooth, Sir," quoth I, "my Lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving that ye were always desirous to come before the king's majesty, now hath travailed so with his letters unto the king, that the king hath sent for you by Master Kingston and twenty-four of the guard, to conduct you to his highness." "Master Kingston," quoth he, rehearsing <sup>20</sup> his name once or twice; and with that clapped his hand on his thigh, and gave a great sigh. "Sir," quoth I, "if your Grace could or would take all things in good part, it should be much better for you. Content yourself for God's sake, and think that God and your friends have wrought for you, according to your own desire. Wherefore, Sir, I humbly beseech your Grace, to be of good cheer." "Well, well, then," quoth he, "I perceive more than ye can imagine, <sup>30</sup> or do know. Experience of old hath taught

me." And therewith he rose up, and went into his chamber. Master Kingston came towards him with much reverence; and at his approach he kneeled down and saluted him on the king's behalf; whom my lord bareheaded offered to take up, but he still kneeled. "Then," quoth my lord, "Master Kingston, I pray you stand up, and leave your kneeling unto a very wretch replete with misery, not worthy to be  
10 esteemed, and therefore, good Master Kingston, stand up, or I will myself kneel down by you." With that Master Kingston stood up, saying, with humble reverence, "Sir, the king's majesty hath him commended unto you." "I thank his highness," quoth my lord, "I trust he be in health, and merry, the which I beseech God long continue." "Yea, without doubt," quoth Master Kingston: "and so hath he commanded me first to say unto you, that you should assure yourself  
20 that he beareth you as much good will and favour as ever he did; and willett you to be of good cheer. And where report hath been made unto him, that ye should commit against his royal majesty certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh to be untrue, yet for the ministracion of justice he can do no less at the least than to send for you to your trial, mistrusting nothing your truth and wisdom, but that ye shall be able to acquit yourself against all complaints and accusations  
30 exhibited against you; and to take your journey towards him at your own pleasure, commanding

me to be attendant upon you with ministration of due reverence, and to see your person preserved from all damage and inconveniences that might ensue ; and to elect all such your old servants, now his, to serve you by the way, who have most experience of your diet. Therefore, Sir, I beseech your Grace to be of good cheer ; and when it shall be your good pleasure to take your journey, I shall give mine attendance." " Master Kingston," quoth my lord, " I thank you for your good news : 10 and, Sir, hereof assure yourself, that if I were as able and as lusty as I have been but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post : but, Sir, I am diseased with a flux that maketh me very weak. But, Master Kingston, all these comfortable words which ye have spoken be but for a purpose to bring me into a fool's paradise : I know what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will and pains taken about me ; and I shall with all speed make me 20 ready to ride with you to-morrow."

When night came that we should go to bed, my lord waxed very sick through his new disease, yet notwithstanding he would have ridden with Master Kingston that next day, if the Earl of Shrewsbury had not been. Therefore, in consideration of his infirmity, they caused him to tarry all that day.

And the next day he took his journey with Master Kingston and the guard. And as soon 30 as they espied their old master, in such a lament-

able estate, they lamented him with weeping eyes. Whom my lord took by the hands, and divers times, by the way, as he rode, he would talk with them, sometime with one, and sometime with another ; at night he was lodged at a house of the Earl of Shrewsbury's, called Hardwick Hall, very evil at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that night, more sicker, and the next day we rode to Leicester 10 Abbey ; and by the way he waxed so sick that he was divers times likely to have fallen from his mule ; and being night before we came to the Abbey of Leicester, where at his coming in at the gates the abbot of the place with all his convent met him with the light of many torches ; whom they right honourably received with great reverence. To whom my lord said, " Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," whom they brought on his mule to 20 the stairs foot of his chamber, and there alighted, and Master Kingston then took him by the arm, and led him up the stairs ; who told me afterwards that he never carried so heavy a burden in all his life. And as soon as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sick. This was upon Saturday at night ; and there he continued sicker and sicker.

Upon Monday in the morning, as I stood by his bedside, about eight of the clock, the windows 30 being close shut, having wax lights burning upon the cupboard, I beheld him, as me seemed, draw-

ing fast to his end. He perceiving my shadow upon the wall by his bedside, asked who was there? "Sir, I am here," quoth I. "How do you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, Sir," quoth I, "if I might see your Grace well." "What is it of the clock?" said he to me. "Forsooth, Sir," said I, "it is past eight of the clock in the morning." "Eight of the clock?" quoth he, "that cannot be," rehearsing divers times, "eight of the clock, eight of the clock, nay, nay," quoth he at 10 the last, "it cannot be eight of the clock: for by eight of the clock ye shall lose your master: for my time draweth near that I must depart out of this world." With that Master Doctor Palmes, a worshipful gentleman, being his chaplain and ghostly father, standing by, bade me secretly demand of him if he would be shriven, and to be in a readiness towards God, whatsoever should chance. At whose desire I asked him that question. "What have you to do to ask me any 20 such question?" quoth he, and began to be very angry with me for my presumption; until at the last Master Doctor took my part, and talked with him in Latin, and so pacified him.

After dinner, Master Kingston sent for me, and said, "The king hath sent me letters by this gentleman, Master Vincent, who hath been of late in trouble in the Tower of London for money that my lord should have, at his last departing from him, which cannot be found. Wherefore 30 the king hath sent him hither with his Grace's

letters, commanding me to examine my lord, and to have your counsel how it may be done." "Sir," quoth I, "my advice shall be this, that your own person shall break the matter unto him." Then went Master Kingston unto him, and asked him first how he did, and so forth demanded of him the said money saying, "that my Lord of Northumberland hath found a book at Cawood that reporteth how ye had but late 10 fifteen hundred pounds in ready money, and one penny thereof will not be found. Wherefore the king hath written unto me to demand of you if you know where it is become; for it were pity that it should be embezzled from you both." With that my lord paused awhile and said, "Ah, good Lord! how much doth it grieve me that the king should think in me such deceit, wherein I should deceive him of any one penny that I have. And for this money that ye demand of me, I 20 assure you it is none of mine; for I borrowed it of divers of my friends to bury me, and to bestow among my servants, who have taken great pains about me, like true and faithful men. Notwithstanding if it be his pleasure to take this money from me I must hold me therewith content. Yet I would most humbly beseech his majesty to see them satisfied, of whom I borrowed the same for the discharge of my conscience" "Who be they?" quoth Master Kingston. "That shall I show 30 you," said my lord. "I borrowed two hundred pounds thereof of Sir John Allen of London; and

two hundred pounds of Sir Richard Gresham ; and two hundred pounds of the Master of the Savoy ; and two hundred pounds of Doctor Hickden, dean of my college in Oxford ; and two hundred pounds of the treasurer of the church of York ; and two hundred pounds of the dean of York ; and two hundred pounds of parson Ellis my chaplain ; and a hundred pounds of my steward, whose name I have forgotten ; trusting that the king will restore them again their money, <sup>10</sup> for it is none of mine." "Sir," quoth Master Kingston, "there is no doubt in the king ; ye need not to mistrust that, but when the king shall be advertised thereof, to whom I shall make report of your request, that his Grace will do as shall become him. But, Sir, I pray you, where is this money ?" "Master Kingston," quoth he, <sup>20</sup> "I will not conceal it from the king ; I will declare it to you, or I die, by the grace of God. Take a little patience with me, I pray you." "Well, Sir, then will I trouble you no more at this time, trusting that ye will show me to-morrow." "Yea, that I will, Master Kingston, for the money is safe enough, and in an honest man's keeping ; who will not keep one penny from the king." And then Master Kingston went to his chamber to supper.

Howbeit my lord waxed very sick, most likeliest to die that night, and often swooned, and as me thought drew fast toward his end, until it was <sup>30</sup> four of the clock in the morning, at which time I

asked him how he did. "Well," quoth he, "if I had any meat; I pray you give me some." "Sir, there is none ready," said I. "I wis," quoth he, "ye be the more to blame, for you should have always some meat for me in a readiness, therefore I pray you get me some; for I intend this day, God willing, to make me strong, to the intent I may occupy myself in confession, and make me ready to God." "Then, Sir," quoth I,  
10 "I will call up the cook to provide some meat for you; and will also, if it be your pleasure, call for Master Palmes, that ye may commune with him, until your meat be ready." "With a good will," quoth he. And therewith I went first, and called up the cook, commanding him to prepare some meat for my lord; and then I went to Master Palmes and told him what case my lord was in; willing him to rise, and to resort to him with speed. And then I went to Master Kingston,  
20 and gave him warning, that, as I thought, he would not live. "In good faith," quoth Master Kingston, "ye be to blame: for ye make him believe that he is sicker, and in more danger than he is." "Well, Sir," quoth I, "ye shall not say another day but that I gave you warning, as I am bound to do, in discharge of my duty. Therefore, I pray you, whatsoever shall chance, let no negligence be ascribed to me herein; for I assure you his life is very short. Do therefore now as  
30 ye think best." Yet nevertheless he arose, and made him ready, and came to him. After he

had eaten of a cullis made of a chicken, a spoonful or two ; at the last quoth he, " Whereof was this cullis made ? " " Forsooth, Sir," quoth I, " of a chicken." " Why," quoth he, " it is fasting day, and St. Andrew's Eve." " What though it be, Sir," quoth Doctor Palmes, " ye be excused by reason of your sickness." " Yea," quoth he, " what though ? I will eat no more."

Then was he in confession the space of an hour. And when he had ended his confession, 10 Master Kingston bade him good-morrow (for it was about seven of the clock in the morning), and asked him how he did " Sir," quoth he. " I tarry but the will and pleasure of God, to render unto him my simple soul into his divine hands" " Not yet so, Sir," quoth Master Kingston ; " with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well, if ye will be of good cheer." " Master Kingston, my disease is such that I cannot live." " Nay, Sir, in good faith," quoth Master Kingston " Well, 20 well, Master Kingston," quoth he, " I see the matter against me how it is framed ; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit this is the just reward that I must receive for my worldly diligence and pains that I have had to do him service ; only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty. Wherefore, I pray you, with all my heart, to have me most humbly commended unto his royal 30 majesty ; beseeching him in my behalf to call to

his most gracious remembrance all matters proceeding between him and me from the beginning of the world unto this day, and the progress of the same: and most chiefly in the weighty matter yet depending (meaning the matter newly began between him and good Queen Katharine); then shall his conscience declare, whether I have offended him or no. He is sure a prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely heart; and  
10 rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the loss of one half of his realm in danger. For I assure you I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Master Kingston, if it chance hereafter you to be one of his privy council, I warn you to be well advised and assured what  
20 matter ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out again.

“ And say furthermore, that I request his Grace, in God’s name, that he have a vigilant eye to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans, that it do not increase within his dominions through his negligence, in such a sort, as that he shall be fain at length to put harness upon his back to subdue them. Good Master Kingston, there is no trust in routs, or unlawful assemblies  
30 of the common people; for when the riotous multitude be assembled, there is among them no

mercy or consideration of their bounden duty ; as in the history of King Richard the Second, one of his noble progenitors, which lived in that same time of Wickliffe's seditious opinions. Did not the commons, I pray you, rise against the king and the nobles of the realm of England ? Did not also the traitorous heretic, Sir John Oldcastle, pitch a field against King Henry the Fifth, against whom the king was constrained to encounter in his royal person, to whom God gave the victory ? Alas ! 10 Master Kingston, if these be not plain precedents, to admonish a prince to be circumspect against the semblable mischief ; and if he be so negligent, then will God strike and take from him his power.

“ Master Kingston, farewell. I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draweth on fast. I may not tarry with you. And forget not, I pray you, what I have said and charged you withal : for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remember my words much better.” 20 And even with these words he began to draw his speech at length, and his tongue to fail ; his eyes being set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then we began to put him in remembrance of Christ's passion ; and sent for the abbot of the place to anneal him, who came with all speed, and ministered unto him all the service to the same belonging ; and caused also the guard to stand by, both to hear him talk before his death, and also to witness of the same ; and incontinent 30 the clock struck eight, at which time he gave up

the ghost, and thus departed he this present life. And calling to our remembrance his words, the day before, how he said that at eight of the clock we should lose our master, one of us looking upon another, supposing that he prophesied of his departure.

After divers communications, it was thought good that he should be buried the next day following. And it was further thought good that

10 the mayor of Leicester and his brethren should be sent for, to see him personally dead, in avoiding of false rumours that might hap to say that he was not dead, but still living. Then was the mayor and his brethren sent for; and in the mean time the body was taken out of the bed where he lay dead; who had upon him, next his body, a shirt of hair, besides his other shirt, which was of very fine linen holland cloth; this shirt of hair was unknown to all his servants being con-

20 tinually attending upon him in his bedchamber, except to his chaplain, which was his ghostly father; wherein he was buried, and laid in a coffin of boards, having upon his dead corpse all such vestures and ornaments as he was professed in when he was consecrated bishop and archbishop, as mitre, crosses, ring, and pall, with all other things appurtenant to his profession. And lying thus all day in his coffin open and bare-faced, that all men might see him lie there dead

30 without feigning; then when the mayor, his brethren, and all other had seen him, lying thus

until four or five of the clock at night, he was carried so down into the church with great solemnity by the abbot and convent, with many torches light, singing such service as is done for such funerals.

And being in the church the corpse was set in our lady chapel, with many and divers tapers of wax burning about the hearse, and divers poor men sitting about the same, holding of torches light in their hands, who watched about the dead <sup>10</sup> body all night, whilst the canons sang dirige, and other devout orisons. And about four of the clock in the morning they sang mass. And that done, and the body interred, Master Kingston with us, being his servants, were present at his said funeral, and offered at his mass. And by that time that all things were finished, and all ceremonies that to such a person were decent and convenient, it was about six of the clock in the morning.

Then prepared we to horseback, being St. <sup>20</sup> Andrew's Day the Apostle, and so took our journey towards the court, being at Hampton Court; where the king then lay. And after we came thither, which was upon St. Nicholas' Eve, we gave attendance upon the council for our depeche.

Upon the morrow I was sent for by the king to come to his Grace; and repairing to the king, I found him shooting at the rounds in the park, on the backside of the garden. And perceiving <sup>30</sup> him occupied in shooting, thought it not my duty

to trouble him : but leaned to a tree, intending to stand there, and to attend his gracious pleasure. Being in a great study, at the last the king came suddenly behind me, where I stood, and clapped his hand upon my shoulder; and when I perceived him, I fell upon my knee. To whom he said, calling me by name, “ I will,” quoth he, “ make an end of my game, and then will I talk with you ; ” and so departed to his mark, whereat the game was ended.

10 Then the king delivered his bow unto the yeoman of his bows, and went his way inward to the palace, whom I followed ; howbeit he called for Sir John Gage, with whom he talked, until he came at the garden postern gate, and there entered ; the gate being shut after him, which caused me to go my ways.

And being gone but a little distance the gate was opened again, and there Sir Harry Norris called me again, commanding me to come in to 20 the king, who stood behind the door in a night-gown of russet velvet furred with sables ; before whom I kneeled down, being with him there all alone the space of an hour and more, during which time he examined me of divers weighty matters, concerning my lord, wishing that liever than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived. Then he asked me for the fifteen hundred pounds, which Master Kingston moved to my lord before his death. “ Sir,” said I, “ I think that I can tell 30 your Grace partly where it is.” “ Yea, can you ? ” quoth the king ; “ then I pray you tell me, and

you shall do us much pleasure, nor it shall not be unrewarded." "Sir," said I, "if it please your highness, after the departure of David Vincent from my lord at Scroby, who had then the custody thereof, leaving the same with my lord in divers bags, sealed with my lord's seal, he delivered the same money in the same bags sealed unto a certain priest (whom I named to the king), safely to keep to his use." "Is this true?" quoth the king. "Yea, Sir," quoth I, "without all doubt. 10 The priest shall not be able to deny it in my presence, for I was at the delivery thereof." "Well then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and keep this gear secret between yourself and me, and let no man be privy thereof; for if I hear any more of it, then I know by whom it is come to knowledge." "Three may," quoth he, "keep counsel, if two be away; and if I thought that my cap knew my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it. And for your truth 20 and honesty ye shall be one of our servants, and in that same room with us, that ye were with your old master. Therefore go to Sir John Gage our vice-chamberlain, to whom I have spoken already to give you your oath, and to admit you our servant in the same room; and then go to my Lord of Norfolk, and he shall pay you all your whole year's wages, which is ten pounds, is it not so?" quoth the king. "Yes, forsooth, Sire," quoth I, "and I am behind thereof for three quarters of 30 a year." "That is true," quoth the king, "for so

we be informed, therefore ye shall have your whole year's wages, with our reward delivered you by the Duke of Norfolk." And thus I departed from him.

And my Lord of Norfolk came from the council into the chamber of presence; as soon as he espied me, he came unto the window where I stood, to whom I declared the king's pleasure. "Sir," quoth I, "would it please your Grace to move the king's majesty in my behalf, to give me one of the carts and horses that brought up my stuff with my lord's (which is now in the Tower), to carry it into my country." "Yea, marry, will I," quoth he, and returned again to the king. And incontinent my lord came forth, and showed me how the king had given me six of the best horses that I could choose amongst all my lord's cart horses, with a cart to carry my stuff, and five marks for my costs homewards; and "hath commanded me," quoth he, "to deliver you ten pounds for your wages, being behind unpaid; and twenty pounds for a reward;" who commanded me to receive both my money, my stuff, and horses, that the king gave me the next day at London: and so I did. I received all things according, and then I returned into my country.

And thus ended the life of my late lord and master, the rich and triumphant Legate and Cardinal of England, on whose soul Jesu have mercy! Amen.

## NOTES.

P. 1, l. 2. **poor man's son.** Wolsey is usually said to have been son of a butcher. Whether this is so or not, his father Robert Wolsey was a man of substance, and owned considerable property in Ipswich

3. **born** probably in 1475.

13. **Fellow of Magdalen College**, about 1497.

15. **Lord Marquess Dorset** Thomas Grey, first Marquis of Dorset, son of Elizabeth Woodville (who afterwards married Edward IV.) and Sir John Grey.

P. 2, l. 6. **benefice of Limington in Somerset.**

12. **depart out of this present life**, in 1501.

20. **Sir John Nanphant** is a mistake for Sir John's father, Sir Richard Nanfan, who was Deputy of Calais and employed Wolsey.

P. 3, l. 1. **promoted to the king's service**, as chaplain to Henry VII., about 1507.

12. **Doctor Fox, Bishop of Winchester.** Richard Fox (d. 1528) was in succession Bishop of Exeter, Durham, and Winchester; he was Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII. and Henry VIII., founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a friend of the New Learning.

14. **Sir Thomas Lovell, knight** (d. 1524) was at different times Speaker of the House of Commons, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Constable of the Tower (1509), and Surveyor of the Court of Wards.

24. **out of this present life**, April 1509. Henry VII. had in February made Wolsey Dean of Lincoln.

P. 4, l. 1. **Queen Katharine**, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, married (1) in 1501 to Henry VII.'s eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, and (2) in 1509 to Henry VIII.

14. **the almoner.** Henry VIII. at once on his accession made Wolsey 'Almoner' or distributor of charity. This office was always held by an ecclesiastic. See Glossary.

20. **house at Bridewell.** It had an orchard and twelve gardens, stretching right to the Thames, and stood south of Fleet Street, where Salisbury Square and Dorset Street now are.

21. **Empson** had been one of Henry VII's chief agents for extorting money from the people. He was executed in 1510 on a charge of high treason

27. **filed tongue**, smooth and winning speech.

P. 6, ll. 21, 22. **wars between England and France**. Henry VIII. had in 1511 joined the Holy League with the Pope, the Emperor, Spain and Venice against France. In 1512 Wolsey organised an expedition against France which failed. In 1513 the expedition which Cavendish here describes was planned by Wolsey and was faultily successful. From this time till his death Wolsey was the director of our foreign policy, and it was largely through his skill that England's friendship became important to Spain and the Emperor, the two greatest powers in Europe. He aimed at making England "the tongue of the balance" between them.

P 7, l. 12 **Thérouanne and Tournay**, towns in Flanders, both episcopal sees, were taken in 1513 after Henry VIII. had defeated Louis XII. of France at the Battle of the Spurs

23. **Bambridge**, or Bainbridge, was first made Bishop of Durham, in 1508 translated to the archbishopric of York, in 1511 was made a cardinal, and in 1514 was poisoned by his own steward.

26 **three bishoprics in one year**, 1514. He became Bishop of Lincoln in February, Archbishop of York in September, and Bishop of Tournay between the two dates. When he was translated to York he gave up Lincoln.

31. **Primas Angliae**. Primate of England.

P 8, l. 1 **Canterbury**. William Warham became Lord Chancellor in 1503 and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1504.

7. **primas totius Angliae**, Primate of all England.

24. **Priest Cardinal**, 1515. Cardinals are of three kinds, Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, and Cardinal Deacons. Each Cardinal Priest takes his title from some ancient parish church in Rome. Wolsey was Cardinal Priest of St Cecily beyond Tiber.

**Legatus de latere** was a special legate appointed directly from Rome. The Archbishop of Canterbury was *legatus*, or ordinary legate of the Pope, he *sub*de*latere* by commission as Wolsey's gave him precedence over the *legatus*. It was not till 1518 that Wolsey became *legatus de latere*.

P. 9, l. 8. **Chancellor in 1515**

9. **dismissed** is inaccurate. Warham had for some time wished to resign, and did so two days before Wolsey's appointment.

30. **bishopric of Durham in 1523**

**Abbey of St. Albans in 1521.** Wolsey was made abbot, though he was not a monk, but held the office *in commendam* only. See next note.

31. **in commendam** means in trust or keeping. This phrase was used when benefices were given to persons who enjoyed their revenues without performing the duties attached to them.

P. 10, l. 1. **Fox** died in 1528.

4. **in ferme**, in farm, that is, at a fixed rental. This means that Wolsey paid a yearly sum in return for the right of drawing what revenues he could from these bishoprics.

**Bath.** Wolsey resigned the bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1523.

P. 12, l. 25. **Venus**, goddess of Love.

P. 13, l. 1. **Sir Thomas Boleyn** was made Earl of Wiltshire on 8th Dec. 1529. His wife was the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk.

3. **Anne Boleyn** was born in 1507, married Henry VIII in 1533, and was beheaded in 1536.

P. 15, l. 31. **Bishop of Bath.** This is a mistake. Campeggio was never Bishop of Bath, but was Bishop of Salisbury from 1524 to 1534.

P. 16, l. 6. **it came.** Campeggio reached London in October 1528.

P. 17, l. 10. **Dr. Stephens** (d. 1555) was Dr. Stephen Gardiner, who had been secretary first to the Duke of Norfolk and then to Wolsey. On Wolsey's fall he became Secretary of State, and in 1531 was made Bishop of Winchester; in 1550 he was deprived and was a state prisoner most of Edward VI.'s reign; on Mary's accession in 1553 he was made Lord Chancellor and restored to his see of Winchester.

17. **Sampson**, Richard (d. 1554), gained his first promotions in Wolsey's service. He helped Henry to obtain his divorce, was made Bishop of Chichester in 1536, and in 1542 was translated to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield.

18. **Bell**, John (d. 1556), was an ecclesiastical lawyer much consulted by Wolsey. He was Bishop of Worcester from 1539 to 1543.

20. **Peter.** Sir William Peter or Petre (d. 1572) was Secretary of State in 1543.

22. **Tregonell**, afterwards Sir John Tregonell or Tregonwell, was one of Henry VIII.'s helpers in the dissolution of the monasteries.

24. **Fisher**, John, became Bishop of Rochester in 1504, opposed Henry VIII. in his efforts to get a divorce, and was executed in 1535.

25. **Standish**, Henry, doctor of divinity (d. 1535), a Franciscan friar, was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1518.

P. 18, l. 1. **Ridley**, Robert, doctor of divinity (d. 1536), opposed the Reformation. He was uncle of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London and Protestant martyr.

P. 21, l. 21. **Mary**, daughter of Henry VIII. and Katharine, reigned as queen from 1553 to 1558, and married in 1554 Philip, afterwards King of Spain, son of Charles V.

**French king**, Francis I.

27. **Arthur**, Prince. See note on Queen Katharine, 4. 1.

P. 22, ll. 13, 14. **my Lord of Lincoln**. This was John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln from 1521 to 1547

P. 23, l. 28. **Wiltshire**. See note on Boleyn, 13. 1.

P. 24, l. 22. **other cardinal**, that is, Campiagno.

P. 28, l. 4. **Duke of Suffolk** (d. 1545). Charles Brandon, created Duke of Suffolk in 1514, married Mary, sister of Henry VIII., soon after the death of her first husband, Louis XII. of France, in 1515.

P. 30, l. 3. **the Moor**. Moor Park in Hertfordshire.

P. 33, l. 4. **had but late of**, had lately exacted from. This probably refers to 'the amicable loan' of 1525, by which property owners were compelled to lend a certain sum to the king.

13. **Norfolk**. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk from 1524 to 1554, the chief of the old nobles, was Wolsey's enemy. He was condemned for treason at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign, but escaped execution through Henry's death. He was released when Mary became queen.

**my Lord of Suffolk**. See note on 28, 4.

P. 34, l. 19. **Michaelmas Term**. See *term* in Glossary. In 1529 Michaelmas Term began on October 9th.

P. 35, l. 25. **delivered unto them the great seal**, November 18th, 1529.

P. 39, l. 12. **the Holy Cross**, the cross upon which Christ was crucified.

P. 40, l. 4. **Fool**, said to have been named Master Williams. It was at this time a custom of great people to keep a jester, a witty fellow, who often, like 'Sia', 'w' are 'Lo Ich-tone in *As You Like It*', mixed much sound sense with his jesting.

10 **took on**. The fool's devotion shews, as does Cavendish's, that Wolsey was loved by the members of his own household.

P. 41, l. 4. **Cromwell**, Thomas, helped Henry to secure his divorce by suggesting he should declare himself head of the Church in England. He became Earl of Essex and Chancellor of England. He was executed for high treason in 1540.

18. **diligent service**. Wolsey had employed him to help him

with suppressing the smaller monasteries, and also with the founding of the school at Ipswich and Cardinal College at Oxford.

30. **board's end was taken up**, the table was cleared. In noblemen's houses long tables were used; the lord and chief guests sat at the upper end, called "the lord's board-end." In the middle of each table stood a great salt-cellar; the more honoured guests were at the lord's side of this, the less, at the lower end.

P. 45, l. 6 **Parliament**. The Seven Years' Parliament, or the Reformation Parliament, which was to separate the English Church from the Papacy, was opened on November 3rd, 1529

13. **his room**, post, appointment. This account is noteworthy, as it shews how Tudor officials managed elections to Parliament much as they chose.

P. 46, l. 11. **Bill of Articles**, or Bill of Attainder against Wolsey to "attaint him of treason," was passed on Dec. 1st against him by the House of Lords, but it was thrown out by the Commons.

17. **indict him in a praemunire**. On Oct. 22nd, 1529, Wolsey signed an acknowledgment that he had deserved to suffer forfeiture of his goods under the Statute of Praemunire. *Praemunire*, 'to forewarn,' was the first word of the Statutes which in Edward III.'s reign had been enacted to check encroachments of foreign powers on the royal power. Wolsey was held to fall under these for having accepted legative authority.

P. 47, l. 23. **Master Shelley**, Sir William Shelley.

P. 49, l. 23. **wrote my lord's recognisance**. See Glossary. On Feb. 7, 1530, Wolsey gave up York Place.

P. 50, l. 20. **fret his heart out**. Letters Wolsey wrote at this time to Cromwell and to Gardiner shew his anguish of mind. (See Appendix to Singer's edition.)

23. **Buttes**, Dr. Butts, afterwards Sir Willian.

P. 55, l. 2. **Winchester**. On April 6th, 1529, the see of Winchester had been given to Wolsey 'in commendam.'

16. **St. Albans**. See note on 9. 30.

P. 56, l. 6. **powers**. Cromwell in this way made powerful friends, who later helped in his promotion.

P. 58, l. 4. **Colet**, John (d. 1519), was Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, from May 1505 to Sept. 1519. In 1512 he founded St. Paul's School. He was one of the truest friends of the New Learning.

**Paul's**, St Paul's Cathedral.

P. 59, l. 21. **Peterborough**. Here he stayed from Palm Sunday, April 10th, to the 21st, the Thursday in Easter week, 1530.

P. 60, l. 3 **Palm Sunday**, the Sunday before Easter Day, in 1530 April 10th.

7. **Maundy Thursday**, Thursday in Holy week, the day before Good Friday.

9. **fifty-nine**. It was usual to wash the feet of as many poor men as there had been years in one's life, but it is not safe to assume that Wolsey was now 59, for Cavendish, writing so long after, may have forgotten the precise number of men whose feet Wolsey washed.

15 **Easter Day** in 1530 fell on April 17th.

P 62, l. 19. latter end of grease time, *i.e.* in September

28. **Michaelmas**, the feast of the archangel Michael, celebrated on 29th September.

P. 63, l. 11. **seven**, really twelve.

P. 64, l. 11. next Monday after All-hallowen day would be Monday, November 7th.

P. 65, l. 1. **went upon cloth**, carpet laid down in the street to walk upon.

3. **vamps of our hosen**. 'Vamp' means the foot of a stocking; thus the phrase means 'in our stocking feet,' shoeless.

11 for the close, that is, for the clergy of the cathedral, who lived in its 'close' or enclosed precincts.

P 66, l. 19. **Earl of Northumberland**. This was Henry Algernon Percy, the sixth Earl of Northumberland. Born about 1502, he became a page in Wolsey's house; he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, but married in 1524 Mary, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. He became Earl in 1527. In 1536 he was one of the court to try Anne Boleyn, but when he saw her he grew faint and left the court. He died in 1537.

24. **Friday, November 4th, 1530.**

P 69, l. 30. **Doctor Augustine** was Wolsey's Italian physician, who was a traitor to his master, having invented and told the Duke of Norfolk a lie, that Wolsey had asked the Pope to excommunicate the king if he did not part from Anne Boleyn. Augustine was arrested to deceive Wolsey, so that he should not suspect his disloyalty.

P. 74, ll. 17, 18. **foul evil**, a loathsome disease.

P. 75, l. 1. **Pomfret**, Pontefract.

25 There was no abbey of the Blackfriars at Doncaster, but there were houses of the Grey and of the White Friars, and it was at one of these two that Wolsey passed the night.

P. 76, l. 2. **Earl of Shrewsbury**. Francis Talbot, died 1560, born 1500, became fifth Earl of Shrewsbury in 1538. At the coronation of Anne Boleyn he carried her sceptre. In 1536 and

1537 he helped his father in suppressing the Pilgrimage of Grace. He spent much of his life in the Scottish borders.

P. 79, 18. **Kingston**, Sir William (died 1540), fought at Flodden, was knighted in 1513, tilted at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, helped in 1523 to defend the Scottish border, and in 1524 became Constable of the Tower. In 1530 he signed the petition to Pope Clement VII. to hasten the divorce. In 1533 he took an official part in Anne Boleyn's coronation, and in 1536 received her as a prisoner in the Tower.

P. 82, l. 6. **Hardwick Hall**, not Hardwick in Derbyshire, but Hardwick-upon-Lyne in Nottinghamshire.

26. **Saturday**, November 26th.

28. **Monday**, November 28th.

P. 85, l. 4. **Hickden** or **Higden**, John, was the first Dean of Cardinal College, the college Wolsey founded in Oxford, and held the office till 1535. In 1545 Cardinal College was refounded as Christ Church.

P. 87, 5. **St. Andrew's Eve**, November 29th.

P. 89, l. 2. **Richard II** Wolsey refers to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, which was partly caused by Wickliffe's 'poor priests,' who attacked the Papacy and the monastic orders and preached church reform.

7. **Oldcastle** headed a Lollard rising against Henry V. in 1413.

P. 90, l. 1. **departed**. He died on November 29th, 1530.

P. 91, l. 6. **church**. This was the church in Leicester Abbey.

## QUESTIONS.

### CHAPTER I.

1. Give some account of Wolsey's rise to power.
2. Describe in your own words, the 'order of Wolsey's going' to Westminster Hall.
3. What do you know of the condition of England at Henry VIII.'s accession?
4. What do you know of (1) Fox, (2) Sir John Nanphant, and (3) Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury?

### CHAPTER II.

1. What is your opinion of the character of Queen Katharine?
2. If you had been Campeggio, would you have given the same decision in the divorce case as he gave? If not, what decision would you have given? Why?
3. Describe the events leading up to Queen Katharine's trial.
4. What light is thrown in this chapter on Henry VIII.'s character?

### CHAPTER III

1. Describe in your own words the reception of Wolsey at Grafton.
2. Was Wolsey's fall due to his own fault?
3. Give a sketch of Sir Henry Norris' character from all you learn of him in this chapter.
4. Describe in your own words Wolsey's interview with his servants at Esher.
5. What were *the cloth of estate, the amicable loan, Michaelmas term*? What do you know of the Duke of Norfolk?

### CHAPTER IV.

1. What do you learn from Cavendish of Tudor official methods as to
  - (a) elections to parliament,
  - (b) respect for property,
  - (c) respect for law?

2. Give some account of Shelley's interview with Wolsey concerning the King's claim to York House.
3. Draw a picture of the character of Anne Boleyn.
4. Describe the persecutions Wolsey suffered at Esher from his enemies

#### CHAPTER V.

1. What episode pleases you most in the whole of Wolsey's journey to the north, and why?
2. Give an account in your own words of Wolsey's arrest.
3. Was Wolsey popular? Give reasons for your answer.

#### CHAPTER VI

1. What do you know of
  - (1) the Earl of Shrewsbury,
  - (2) Sir William Kingston,
 and of their relations to Wolsey?
2. Give the substance of Wolsey's dying speech to Kingston.
3. Describe the events of the last morning of Wolsey's life.
4. Do you think the advice Wolsey asked Kingston to give Henry VIII. good or bad? Why?
5. What do you think the finest passage in Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*? Give it in your own words.

#### SUBJECTS FOR ESSAYS.

1. Describe what you take to have been the character of Wolsey.
2. Do you admire Henry VIII.? Give reasons from what Cavendish tells us, for your answer, yes or no.
3. Tell what you know of Cavendish. What is the real value of his work?
4. If you had lived in Henry's reign, would you have preferred to be a member of the King's or of Wolsey's household? Why?
5. Give an outline sketch of the events of Wolsey's life
6. If you had had your choice, would you have chosen to live in Tudor times or now? Why?
7. What do you know of Thomas Cromwell, and what is your opinion of him?

## HELPERS TO FURTHER STUDY.

1. The unabridged *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, by George Cavendish, edited by Samuel Weller Singer (2nd edition, 1 vol., 1827) is the best edition of Cavendish. This contains an excellent essay by the Rev. Joseph Hunter on 'Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?' Singer prints also many contemporary letters, of Wolsey, Cromwell, Anne Boleyn, etc. His preface and notes are useful.

2. The full text of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* is given in a volume of *The New Universal Library* (Routledge & Sons), which has a short introduction by Henry Morley, but no notes.

3. Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII. from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey* (2 vols., Murray, 1884) is the best full modern account of Wolsey's life, and is stimulating and interesting, though perhaps somewhat too favourable in its judgment on Wolsey.

4. The gist of Brewer's work on Wolsey is contained in the volume on *Wolsey* by Dr. Mandell Creighton, published in the *Twelve English Statesmen* series (Macmillan)

5. In *The Dictionary of National Biography* the article on 'Wolsey,' by Dr. James Gairdner, is full of accurate information, and has a bibliography of German and French research subsequent to Brewer's book.

6. For a general sketch of the reign, J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People* is most vivid and picturesque.

7. A fuller and more recent detailed account of the reign is contained in H. A. L. Fisher's *History of England from 1485 to 1547 (Political History of England*, vol. v., Longmans).

8. Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.* may be read not only for its literary merits, but as a presentation of the impression made by the reign of Henry VIII. on the greatest man of the next succeeding generation.

## GLOSSARY.

[An asterisk (\*) is affixed to obsolete words. The first number gives the page, the second the line, where the word occurs.]

<p>Abate, give up. 8 9. Abode, waited. 71. 10. Adjourn, postpone 27. 30. Admonish, warn. 89. 12. *Advertise, inform. 20. 7, 21. 23; 28. 24; 29. 5; 31. 5; 50. 22; 54. 10; 85. 14 *Affiance, confidence, trust. 7. 1; 48. 11. Against, before, in preparation for 1. 19; 53. 5. All-hallowtide, All Saints' or All Hallows Day was on November 1st. 40. 31 Allegations, charges, accusa- tions. 27. 11. Allure, win, persuade. 6. 19; 66. 2. Almoner, distributor of charity 4. 14; 5. 16; 5. 30; 6. 1; 6. 2; 6. 4; 6. 5; 6. 6, 6. 13; 6. 31; 7. 13; 7. 20. Ambiguities, doubts, obscurities, confusions. 27. 25. Amity, friendship. 62. 16. Amours, love. 13. 16; 13. 17. *Anneal, administer the 'ex- treme unction,' anointing with holy oil. This solemn service was administered to those about to die 89. 26. Apothecary, an old word for a medical man.</p>	<p>Appareled, dressed 10. 21; 42, 6 Appertaining, belonging. 12. 11. Appetite, inclination, wish. 55. 9. Appurtenant, belonging. 90. 27. Articles, conditions. 72. 4. Artificers, skilled workmen. 64. 8 Assent, consent. 27. 29. Assigned, directed, told. 42. 3. *Astonied, astonished 30. 24; 38. 17; 69. 17. Attendant, waiting. 11. 20.  Bare, mere. 43. 1 Barren, unprovided, destitute. 26. 10 Bartholomewtide, St. Bartholo- mew's Day was on August 24th 29. 7. Beads, of a rosary. 79. 9. Benefice, an ecclesiastical office, used especially of a clergyman's charge of a parish. 2. 6; 7 19; 7. 24; 9. 23; 26. 10; 44. 1; 54. 19; 54. 27; 55. 2 *Blanked, outwitted, puzzled. 34. 1. *Booted me not, was of no use. 71. 8. Bounden, right, natural. 38. 26.</p>
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**Bulls**, papal deeds or documents, so called from the *bulla* or seal attached to them.

**Burgesses**, representatives of the towns or boroughs. 45. 8.

\***Caffa**, a rich silk cloth, similar to damask, much used in the 16th century. 10. 24.

**Candilemas**, the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. February 2nd. 57. 8.

**Cankered**, evil. 47. 21.

**Chafe**, rage, fret. 50. 1.

**Chancery**, a court of justice in which the Chancellor was judge. 11. 30.

**Chapel, Lady**, chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In great churches the lady chapel is generally situated at the extreme east, beyond the choir. 91. 7.

**Check**, reproof. 8. 16.

**Circumspect**, careful, wary. 89. 12.

**Clemency**, mercy. 39. 23; 43. 27; 47. 6.

**Clerks**, clergy. 14. 30.

**Closet**, private room. 3. 7; 10. 16.

**Cloth of estate**, cloth of state, canopy over the king's seat. 31. 26.

**Coffers**, boxes, chests. 6. 10; 46. 26; 71. 19.

**Commissioners**, those entrusted with a commission or authority to enquire into any matter. 27. 11; 28. 21.

**Communication**, conversation, talk. 64. 25.

**Concord**, union, agreement, peace. 62. 10.

**Condign**, worthy, adequate. 40. 2.

**Confectioners**, literally things made; contrivances, devices,

co concoctions. 10. 30; in 79. 2. a powder.

**Conformable to**, conforming to, obedient to. 19. 1.

**Constable**, the governor of a castle. 3. 16.

**Constrained**, compelled. 16. 27; 63. 19; 89. 9.

**Convenient**, suitable. 53. 31; 54. 16.

\***Convocate**, summon, call. 9. 18.

**Convocation**, summoning to an assembly of the clergy. 9. 19.

**Cope**, a rich, cloaklike, sleeveless vestment, often jewelled, worn by ecclesiastical dignitaries. 8. 31.

**Corrosive**, sting. 53. 27.

\***Counterfeit**, likeness. 51. 15.

\***Countervail**, compensate, have value. 43. 6.

**Covered**, to cover his head, to wear his hat. As a sign of respect, Wolsey would stand bareheaded till the king bade him 'be covered.' 32. 3.

\***Cullis**, a rich broth, made of meat. 87. 1.

**Damn**, condemn. 27. 26.

**Defamation**, discredit. 24. 7.

**Default**, fault. 19. 7; 42. 23.

**Defendant**, person defending a case; the person accused. 27. 20.

\***Depeche**, despatch, release. 26.

**Deliberation**, thought, consideration. 29. 6.

**Depending**, waiting, remaining undecided. 88. 5.

**Deserts**, what was deserved, merits. 12. 8.

\***Difficile**, difficult. 7. 5.

\***Dirge**, a dirge, so called from the first word 'dirige' of a portion of the service for the dead. 91. 11.

\***Disburden**, ease, raise the burden from. 5. 17.

**Disdain**, contempt, scorn. 41. 19.

**Dispatch**, discharge, sending away. 44. 7.

**Disputation**, argument, trial. 16. 20.

\***Dissimuled**, disguised. 54. 11

**Distilled**, dropped 41. 8

**Ecclesiastical**, belonging to the Church. 9. 17.

**Ells**, an ell measured a yard and a quarter. 60. 11.

**Embezzled**, stolen. 36. 30, 84. 14.

\***Empost**, post haste. 37. 16.

**Engendered**, sprang. 8. 17.

**Ensue**, follow. 50. 2.

**Entertainment**, treatment. 31. 23.

**Espied**, caught sight of. 37. 3; 68. 7; 81. 31; 94. 6.

**Estate**, state, ceremony. 32. 21.

**Exactly learned**, scholars. 14. 25.

**Expositor**, mouthpiece, explainer. 4. 28.

**Fantasy**, fancy. 4. 30; 6. 9.

**Fellows**, equals, other members of Wolsey's household. 71. 11.

\***Filed**, polished, smooth. 4. 27; 6. 17.

**Frequented**, busied, concerned. 63. 7.

**Garnished**, provided. 4. 11.

**Gear**, matter. 93. 14.

**Gesture**, bearing, manner. 13. 14; 34. 22; 66. 1.

**Ghostly**, spiritual. 22. 14

**Girdle**, belt. 52. 1.

**Good**, valid. 55. 26.

**Granted**, assented, consented. 22. 18.

**Grease or grecce time**, the hunting season. 29. 21; 62. 19.

**Grudge**, as a noun means dislike, jealousy, 8. 18; as a verb, to grumble, 73. 20.

**Habit**, dress. 10. 22.

\***Harness**, armour. 88. 27.

\***Hap**, happen, chance. 90. 12.

\***Hault**, haughty, proud. 28. 6; high, 66. 22.

\***Heartiest**, heartiest. 60. 28.

**Heaviness**, sadness, trouble. 71. 14.

**Heinous**, atrocious, dreadful. 80. 24.

**Heretic**, one who holds views not accepted by the Church. 89. 7.

\***Holden**, held. 28. 3.

**Impotent**, helpless. 27. 13.

**Incontinent**, quickly, at once. 22. 2; 23. 26; 24. 1; 33. 25; 38. 13; 45. 23; 51. 31; 82. 25; 89. 30; 94. 14.

**Incumbents**, holders of a benefice, clergy. 10. 5.

**Indifferent**, impartially fair. 18. 25; 19. 29; 20. 1; 26. 8; 27. 22.

**Intent**, intention. 62. 22.

**Insatiate**, unsatisfied, longing. 12. 25.

**Instruments**, deeds, any legal documents. 15. 19.

**Inveighed**, pleaded. 46. 14.

**Jurisdictions**, authorities. 9. 17; 28. 1.

**Kaiser**, Emperor. 3. 22.

\***Lament**, lamenting, sad. 20. 28.

**Lay**, stayed. 58. 3; lived. 59. 17.

**Legacy**, office of papal legate, or messenger. 9. 26.

**Legatine authority**, authority as legate or representative of the Pope. 14. 23  
**Legation**, deputation, embassy. 15. 19.  
**Letters Patent**, so called because 'open' and addressed to all men. They were sealed with the Great Seal 35. 14; 55. 25.  
**Lieu**, place. 10. 2.  
**\*Liever**, rather. 92. 25.  
**\*Lighted**, alighted, dismounted 38. 11.  
**Listed**, chose, liked. 9. 23.  
**Loop**, loophole. 67. 18; 67. 25.  
**Loth**, disinclined, reluctant. 71. 1.  
**Lusty**, strong. 81. 12.  
**Mace**, a blunt weapon, an emblem of authority carried before magistrates. 11. 15.  
**\*Male**, French *malle*, luggage, mail. 68. 23.  
**Mar**, spoil, cause to fail. 41. 25; 44. 26.  
**Marks**, a mark was worth thirteen shillings and fourpence. 44. 12; 55. 20; 94. 18.  
**Marry**, an oath, meaning 'By the Virgin Mary.' 21. 11; 51. 4; 57. 17.  
**Mass**, the service of the Holy Communion. Compare 10. 15; 10. 20; 91. 13; 91. 16.  
**Mattins**, morning service. 41. 6.  
**Mean**, means. 49. 30; 55. 30.  
**Meet**, suitable. 6. 30; 14. 19.  
**Mess**, dinner. 78. 10.  
**Mitre**, a tall, tongue-shaped cap of costly stuff, often studded with gold and precious stones, and worn by bishops and abbots. 8. 31; 90. 26.  
**Ministration**, attendance, care. 52. 21; 52. 22; 80. 25.

**Misadventure**, misfortune. 41. 14.  
**Mused**, meditated, fell into thought. 38. 17.  
**Nightgown**, dressing-gown 92. 20.  
**\*Noble**, a very rare word in this use. It may mean a round button, or else a round piece of velvet the size of a 'noble,' a coin then in use. 10. 25.  
**Nothing**, in no way, not at all. 76. 21.  
**Of**, at. 60. 31.  
**Or**, before. 28. 25; 85. 19.  
**Or ever**, before. 63. 24.  
**Orisons**, prayers. 91. 12.  
**Ornate**, florid, elaborate. 4. 27.  
**\*Overthwart**, across. 78. 21.  
**Pall**, pallium, a kind of stole of white woolen web, made in Rome from the wool of lambs, which are blessed annually on the festival and in the church of St. Agnes there. It is conferred by the Pope upon archbishops, and was their distinctive vestment 90. 26.  
**Patent**, *see* Letters Patent.  
**Pension**, an allowance. 55. 12; 58. 18.  
**\*Peradventure**, perhaps. 89. 20.  
**Pernicious**, harmful; 88. 24.  
**\*Pillion**, a cap or hat, especially of a priest or doctor of divinity. 10. 25.  
**Pithy**, witty, shrewd. 4. 26.  
**Pleas**, pleadings. 28. 3.  
**Plucked**, snatched. 32. 11.  
**Poleaxes**, pole axes, axes fixed to long poles. 11. 26.  
**Post**, post haste, with speed. 81. 13.

**Postern**, a small gate 92. 14.  
**Prebendary**, a canon of a cathedral or collegiate church, for whose endowment a 'prebend' or separate estate has been assigned. 61. 19.  
**Precedents**, examples 89. 11.  
**Precincts**, limits. 9. 19.  
**Preferred**, given preferments, offices or appointments. 50. 14.  
**Press**, crowd. 11. 2.  
**Primer**, a simple book of devotions for general use. 41. 5.  
**Privy**, private. 10. 14; 10. 16; privy unto, acquainted with. 70. 19.  
**Process compellatory**, writ or summons ordering them to appear. 16. 27.  
**Proctors**, attorneys. 17. 20.  
**Progenitors**, ancestors. 89. 3.  
**\*Puissant**, powerful. 6. 25; 7. 11.  
**Pursuivant at arms**, an inferior kind of herald. 11. 14.  
  
**Recognisance**, consent, acknowledgment, recognition. 48. 10.  
**Rehearse**, repeat. 38. 10.  
**Reparation**, repairing. 61. 17.  
**Replete**, filled. 80. 9.  
**Require**, request. 20. 4.  
**Respite**, delay, postponement. 21. 23.  
**Resurrection**, a religious service or ceremony held on Easter Day in remembrance of the Resurrection. 60. 16.  
**Rochet**, literally a little coat, was a kind of surplice made of lawn or lace, with close-fitting sleeves. 42. 6.  
**Room**, office, appointment. 2. 22; 45. 13.  
**\*Rounds**, targets. 91. 29.  
  
**Routs**, crowds. 88. 29.  
**Rueful**, mournful. 73. 21.  
**Russet**, the colour of apples, a red-brown colour. 92. 21.  
  
**Sables**, rich furs. 10. 27; 92. 21.  
**Sage**, wise. 3. 15.  
**St Andrew's Day**, in 1530 November 30th.  
**\*Scantly**, scarcely, hardly 30. 28.  
**Schedule**, a small sheet of paper attached to a larger one. 70. 18.  
**Scribe**, secretary. 17. 10.  
**\*Scrupulosity**, hindrance. 65. 16.  
**Seditious**, creating rebellion, factious. 86. 4.  
**\*Semblable**, similar. 89. 13.  
**Several**, separate. 15. 16.  
**Shadow**, hide. 75. 22.  
**Shift**, change. 68. 21.  
**Shriven**, confessed; make his confession to a priest. 83. 17.  
**Simple**, plain people, the poorer folk. 64. 3.  
**Sometime**, once, formerly. 4. 20.  
**Sort**, fashion, manner, way. 76. 16.  
**\*Stallation**, ceremony of enthroning as bishop or archbishop, installation. 64. 24; 66. 24.  
**\*Stalled**, enthroned as archbishop. 64. 10; 65. 9.  
**Star Chamber**, a new court established by Henry VII. with the special object of punishing nobles and other gentry, offenders who outraged the ordinary law courts. 12. 6.  
**Stature**, height. 18. 2.  
**Stick**, stop, hesitate. 43. 4.  
**Stomach**, courage, pride. 48. 15; appetite. 52. 25.

**Stout**, bold 28. 6; 35. 16.  
**Stuff**, furniture, goods. 16. 12.  
**Suitors**, those bringing suits, petitioners. 11. 3; 12. 4.  
**Surety**, pledge, guarantee. 35. 13.  
**Surmount**, surpass. 9. 16; 38. 23.  
**Swooned**, fainted. 85. 29  
  
**Tarry**, linger, stay. 34. 6.  
**Term**, the law terms, the time during which the judges sit, are four in number, Hilary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas. 10. 13; 34. 19.  
**Terms**, words. 72. 8.  
**That**, so that. 56. 17.  
**Tippet**, a small cape worn by ecclesiastics. 10. 27.  
**Took on**, fretted, was distressed. 40. 10.  
**Translation**, change, transference. 7. 27.  
**\*Trapped**, adorned. 11. 20; 11. 23.  
**Travail**, labour, work. 2. 19; 6. 31; travaled, worked. 41. 17.  
**\*Trow**, suppose, believe. 70. 22  
  
**Under lead**, under seal; lead was used as we use sealing-wax. 15. 28  
**Usher**, one whose duty it is to announce strangers or visitors. 69. 11.

**Unsavoury**, unwholesome, evil-smelling. 53. 18.  
  
**\*Vamp**, Foot of a stocking. 65. 3. *See note.*  
**Vehement**, ardent, burning. 24. 16; 28. 9.  
**Vesture**, dress. 60. 17.  
**Void**, vacant. 2. 7; 7. 18.  
  
**\*Waffeting**, floating (from waft, to float). 37. 7  
**Ward**, guard. 'in ward' under guard as a prisoner. 66. 13.  
**Wardens**, large hard pears, generally eaten 'roasted' or baked.  
**Wax**, become. 12. 5.  
**Where**, whereas, as. 80. 22.  
**Wherry**, a light boat used on rivers. 16. 9.  
**Whetstone**, stone on which anything is whetted or sharpened. 78. 22.  
**\*Wis**, think. 86. 3.  
**Without**, outside. 16. 10; 76. 9.  
**\*Wonderly**, wonderfully. 5. 21.  
**Worshipful**, respected, important. 64. 3; 65. 11; 83. 15; 61. 24.  
  
**Yeomen**, literally means small freeholders, and then, as in this book, is used more loosely as of those men in Wolsey's service who were not gentlemen by birth. 37. 1; 40. 9; 43. 28; 44. 16; 76. 9; 92. 11.

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